

**THE USE OF THE SECOND PSALM IN JEWISH  
AND CHRISTIAN TRADITION OF EXEGESIS :  
A STUDY OF CHRISTOLOGICAL ORIGINS**

Chester Elvin Wood

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD  
at the  
University of St Andrews



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ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

THE USE OF THE SECOND PSALM IN JEWISH  
AND CHRISTIAN TRADITION OF EXEGESIS:

A Study in Christological Origins

by

Chester Elvin Wood

St. Andrews University

1975

The purpose of this dissertation is to examine the use of the second Psalm in Jewish and Christian tradition of exegesis. This study begins with the O.T. itself and traces the employment of Ps. 2 in Jewish and Christian literature up to 300 A.D. As the sub-title indicates the focus of this inquiry is the christological employment of Ps. 2 by N.T. writers.

Ch. I gives detailed consideration to Ps. 2:1,2,7-9 (i.e. those verse used in the N.T.) in its O.T. context. This is necessary because it is impossible to relate the later uses of Ps. 2 to its original meaning unless this has been ascertained. Such problems as the scope of the rebellion (vss. 1,2), the significance of  $\rho\pi$  and "you are my Son, today I have begotten you" (vs. 7), the pointing of  $\square\gamma\gamma\lambda$  (vs. 9), the place of Ps. 2 in its O.T. Traditionsgeschichte, the relation of the M.T. to the LXX, other Greek versions and the Targum and the messianic nature of Ps. 2 are taken up.

Ch. II, intertestamental literature (i.e., D.S.S., Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, Rabbinic literature), examines the quotation of Ps. 2:1,2 in 4QFlor 1:18ff, the allusion to Ps. 2:7 in IQSa 2:11, the clearly messianic use of Ps. 2:9 in Psalms of Solomon 17:26 along with allusions to Ps. 2:2,9 in Psalms of Solomon 17,18. Attention is given

to allusions to Ps. 2 in Wisdom of Solomon, Sirach, IV Ezra and I Enoch. The occurrences of Ps. 2 in the Rabbinic literature are only surveyed because in most cases the traditions preserved in this literature cannot be shown to be pre-Christian. Finally, the use of Son of God as a messianic title in pre-Christian Judaism is sketched.

Ch. III-V deal with the N.T. and concentrate upon the following areas of inquiry: 1) introductory formula, 2) text form, 3) contribution of the quotation to the argument or theme of the passage, i.e. what is the significance of the quotation, 4) function of the quotation, i.e. how is it used in its immediate and wider context, 5) hermeneutical stance and techniques and 6) the relation of the quotation or the allusion to earlier and later Traditionsgeschichte. Ch. III examines the use of Ps. 2:1,2 in Acts 3:18,4:5,25ff, Mt. 22:34. Ch. IV deals with Ps. 2:7 in Acts 13:33, Heb. 1:2,5, 5:5, 7:28 and the alleged allusions in the baptism and transfiguration voices and Rom. 1:4. Ch. V is concerned with Ps. 2:9 in 2,26,27, 12:5, 19:15 and allusions to Ps. 2:2 in 11:15, 12:10, 19:19. The use of Ps. 2 in the Church Fathers is incorporated in chs. III-V.

THE USE OF THE SECOND PSALM IN JEWISH  
AND CHRISTIAN TRADITION OF EXEGESIS:

A Study in Christological Origins

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A Dissertation

Presented to

the Faculty of St. Mary's College

the University of St. Andrews

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In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

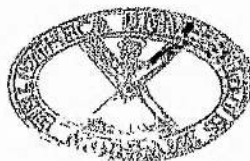
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by

Chester Elvin Wood

September 12, 1975



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# DECLARATION

I hereby affirm that the composition of this dissertation and the work of which it is a record were done by the candidate and that it has not been previously submitted for a degree.

The dissertation which follows is a research project undertaken in the Department of New Testament Languages and Literature, following admission to the University of St. Andrews as a research student in October, 1971, and acceptance as a candidate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in October 1972.

#### SUPERVISOR'S STATEMENT

I hereby affirm that Chester E. Wood has spent nine terms of research at the University of St. Andrews, that he has fulfilled the conditions of the resolution of the University Court, 1967, No. 1 and that he is qualified to submit this thesis in application for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

The system of abbreviations followed in this dissertation is that found in Siegfried Schwertner's Internationales Abkürzungsverzeichnis für Theologie und Grenzgebiete : Zeitschriften, Serien, Lexika, Quellenwerke mit bibliographischen Angaben (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1974). Abbreviations for the D.S.S. and related texts follow the system found in James A. Sanders', "Palestinian Manuscripts 1947-1972", J.J.S. 24 (1973), 74-83. Abbreviations not found in these works or ones that have been altered are listed below. All other abbreviations are customary, self-explanatory or explained in the text.

A.N.F.	<u>The Ante-Nicene Fathers</u> , 10 vols., ed. A. Roberts, J. Donaldson, A.C. Coxe and A. Menzies, 1884-86.
Ap. and Ps.	<u>The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament</u> , 2 vols., ed. R.H. Charles, 1913.
Bauer	W. Bauer, <u>A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</u> , trans. and rev. W.F. Arndt and F.W. Gingrich, 1957.
B.C.	<u>The Beginnings of Christianity</u> , 5 vols., ed. F.J. Foakes Jackson and K. Lake, 1920-33.
Bl.-D.	F. Blass and A. Debrunner, <u>A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</u> , trans. and rev. R.W. Funk, 1961.
C.C.L.	<u>Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina</u> , many vols., 1954-continuing.
H.T.	Hebrew Text.
Nov. T.	<u>Novum Testament</u>
R.Qum.	<u>Revue de Qumran</u>
U.B.S.	<u>The Greek New Testament</u> , 2nd ed., ed. K. Aland, M. Black, C.M. Martini, B.M. Metzger and A. Wikgren, United Bible Societies, 1968.

## INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this dissertation is to examine the use of the second Psalm in the Jewish and Christian tradition of exegesis. The study begins with the O.T. itself and traces the employment of Ps. 2 in Jewish and Christian literature up to 300 A.D. As the sub-title indicates the focus of this inquiry is the christological employment of Ps. 2 by N.T. writers.

In the last two decades there has been an increasing amount of publications concerning the O.T. quotations and allusions in the N.T. Some of these works survey the whole N.T. (e.g. Dodd, Lindars, Longenecker), some concentrate upon a particular author (e.g. Jesus by France, Paul by Ellis) or book (Matthew by Gundry, Mark by Suhl, Luke-Acts by Holtz and Rese, John by Freed and Reim, Hebrews by Schröger, Revelation by Ozanne) and some trace a particular text or theme through the N.T. (e.g. Ps. 110 by Hay, christological stone testimonia by Snodgrass).<sup>1</sup>

A study of Ps. 2 in Jewish and Christian literature holds forth the promise of fruitful research because of its frequent occurrence in the various Jewish and Christian literatures. Unlike Ps. 110, Ps. 2 is quoted (4QFlor, cf. P.S. 17:26) and alluded to (IQSa, P.S., Wisdom of Solomon, Sirach) in pre-Christian Jewish literature. There are other quotations and allusions in Rabbinic literature, I Enoch and IV Ezra that may preserve pre-Christian Jewish traditions. The Church Fathers also made extensive use of Ps. 2.

In 1948 J. Dupont produced an article on the use of Ps. 2:7 in the N.T., but since then several important discoveries from the Qumran literature relating to Ps. 2 and "Son of God" as a messianic title have been published. In 1961 E. Lövestam published a monograph entitled Son and Saviour: A Study of Acts 13:32-37. He briefly surveys the uses of Ps. 2:1,2,8,9 in the N.T., but he is primarily concerned



with the quotation of Ps. 2:7 in Acts 13:33. (At several points the indebtedness of this study to Lövestam's work will be noted.) Due to recent discoveries relating to Ps. 2 and the lack of work done on the total use of Ps. 2 in the N.T., there is a need for a systematic and comprehensive analysis of the employment of Ps. 2 in the N.T. in the light of its use in Jewish and Christian literature.

The procedure followed in meeting this need is as follows. Ch. I gives detailed consideration to Ps. 2:1,2,7-9 in its O.T. context. This is necessary because it is impossible to relate the later uses of Ps. 2 to its original meaning unless this has been ascertained. Such problems as the scope of the rebellion (vss. 1,2), the significance of  $\rho\tau\iota$  and "you are my son, today I have begotten you" (vs. 7), the pointing of  $\square\gamma\tau\lambda$  (vs. 9), the place of Ps. 2 in its O.T. Traditionsgeschichte, the relation of the M.T. to the LXX, other Greek versions and the Targum and the messianic nature of Ps. 2 are taken up. In ch. II the employment of Ps. 2 in the intertestamental literature (broad sense of the term), i.e. D.S.S., Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha and Rabbinic literature, is examined. The recent discovery and publication of 4QFlor which gives a full citation and an interpretation of Ps. 2:1,2 is most important. The possibility of an allusion to Ps. 2:7 in IQSa 2:11 deserves careful consideration. The clearly messianic use of Ps. 2:9 in P.S. 17:26 along with allusions to Ps. 2:2,9 in P.S. 17,18 occupy a significant place in the Traditionsgeschichte of Ps. 2. Attention is also given to allusions to Ps. 2 in Wisdom of Solomon, Sirach, IV Ezra and I Enoch. The occurrences of Ps. 2 in the Rabbinic literature are only surveyed because in most cases the traditions preserved in this literature cannot be shown to be pre-Christian. As already indicated, the focus of this inquiry is the use of Ps. 2 in the N.T. (ch. III-V). In



ch. III the quotation and detailed "exegesis of Ps. 2:1,2 in Acts 4:25-28 and the allusions to Ps. 2:2 in Acts 3:18 and Mt. 22:34 are considered. Ch. IV deals with the quotations of Ps. 2:7 in Acts 13:33, Heb. 1:5; 5:5 and the alleged allusions to Ps. 2:7 in the baptism and transfiguration voices and Rom. 1:4. Ch. V is concerned with the use of Ps. 2:9 which is found only in Revelation. This chapter also takes up allusions to Ps. 2:1,2 which are found in Revelation in connection with Ps. 2:9. The extensive use of Ps. 2 in the Church Fathers up to 300 A.D. (and in some cases beyond 300 A.D.) is incorporated at appropriate places in chs. III-V. The following major areas of inquiry have been addressed in chs. III-V: 1) introductory formula, 2) text form, 3) contribution of the quotation to the argument or theme of the passage, i.e. what is the significance of the quotation, 4) function of the quotation, i.e. how is it used in its immediate and wider context, 5) hermeneutical stance and techniques and 6) the relation of the quotation or the allusion to earlier and later Traditionsgeschichte.

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#### Footnote

1. For bibliographical details of these and other related writings see Bibliography.

## Chapter I

### A STUDY OF PSALM TWO IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

## I. Introduction

This study attempts to examine Ps. 2 in its O.T. context. One section is devoted to an exegesis of the psalm in the light of its O.T. setting. The other section treats the question of the messianic nature of the psalm.

In a recent study of the use of Ps. 110 in the N.T., Hay has set forth only a minimal exegesis of the psalm in the O.T.<sup>1</sup> Since Dodd has shown that in general the N.T. writers had regard for the O.T. context of their quotations<sup>2</sup> — this does not mean that the N.T. authors always interpreted the O.T. by its context,<sup>3</sup> at least due consideration of the O.T. context must be given if a thorough study of the use of an O.T. passage in the N.T. is to be of maximum value.

## II. Exegesis of Psalm Two

The aim of this section is to give a detailed exegesis of those portions of the psalm that are quoted or clearly alluded to by the N.T. (vss. 1, 2, 7, 8, 9). Questions of textual emendations, exegesis, special problems and the history of tradition will be considered in some detail.

### A. Structure and Speaker

As Rowley has observed, there is general agreement concerning the strophic structure of the psalm.<sup>4</sup> The R.S.V. prints the text as four strophes each consisting of three Massoretic verses, but there is lack of agreement as to the form of the strophes.<sup>5</sup> In many cases this lack of agreement is due to the numerous conjectural emendations related to metri causa. Rowley's own essay tries to preserve the M.T. He shows that with a few changes at vss. 5, 8, 11, 12 the psalm can be divided into four strophes of three verses each with a pattern of three units of rhythm. These units are usually distich, but in three strophes there will be one line of tristich. Hence the following pattern emerges:<sup>6</sup>

Verse	Pattern	Verse	Pattern
1	3:3	7	3:3:3
2	3:3:3	8	3:3
3	3:3	9	3:3
4	3:3	10	3:3
5	3:3	11	3:3
6	3:3	12	3:3:3

This pattern in many respects is satisfactory. After examination of Ugaritic prosody, however, Young concludes that Ugaritic poetry "manifests no regularity in the manner in which stichs may be combined to form sentences."<sup>7</sup> When this observation is applied to the biblical prosody, many, if not most, of the wholesale conjectural emendations based on metri causa are placed in doubt.



M.T. (vs. 3) וַיִּסְרְוּ אֶת־מִסְרֵיהֶם וַיִּכְכְּ דָּמָם  
עַבְתֵּיהֶם

LXX Διαρρήξωμεν τοὺς δεσμούς αὐτῶν καὶ  
ἀπορρίψωμεν ἀφ' ἡμῶν τὸν ζυγὸν αὐτῶν

Targ. נִתְרַע יֵת אֶסְרֵיהֶון וַיִּכְלֹק דָּמָם וַיִּשְׁלַח לִתְלִיחָן

## 2. Exegesis

The exact sense of  $\psi\lambda\gamma$  in Ps. 2:1 is difficult to determine. This is the only use of the verb in biblical Hebrew.<sup>9</sup> Usually  $\psi\lambda\gamma$  is translated "rage", but recently Dahood has revived the idea of Briggs that  $\psi\lambda\gamma$  means "to consent together" ("to forgather", Dahood).<sup>10</sup> Linguistically, the biblical Aramaic of Daniel 6:6, 11, 15 probably<sup>11</sup> provides evidence of the use of  $\psi\lambda\gamma$  to mean "to consent together". On the other hand, the Elephantine Papyri in Ah. 29<sup>12</sup> and IQH 2:12f, 3:16<sup>13</sup> show that  $\psi\lambda\gamma$  can be used in the sense "to rage". The LXX ( $\epsilon\phi\rho\upsilon\alpha\xi\alpha\nu$ )<sup>14</sup> probably and Aquila ( $\epsilon\theta\omicron\rho\upsilon\beta\eta\sigma\alpha\nu$ ) definitely favour the translation "rage". Contextually, Briggs argues that  $\psi\lambda\gamma$  is parallel to  $\gamma\gamma\sigma\gamma$  and thus should be translated "to consent together",<sup>15</sup> but this would require  $\gamma\lambda\pi$  to be parallel to  $\gamma\gamma\sigma\gamma$  which is most unlikely. Thus linguistically both meanings of  $\psi\lambda\gamma$  are possible, but the context of Ps. 2:1 does not make clear which meaning is to be preferred. In this study the more usual translation "rage" will be retained.

Dahood on the basis of Ugaritic materials tries to break new ground by translating  $\rho\gamma\gamma\pi$  as "number their troops".<sup>16</sup> He cites Krt. 90, 91 ("serfs beyond counting, archers beyond number [hg]") where hg occurs in a military context. He also argues on the basis of the use of  $\rho\gamma\gamma$  in Genesis 14:14 that the term can be used

in a military context.<sup>17</sup> But Dahood's contention is far from established. Thus the usual translation ("peoples plot in vain") is to be preferred.

Lagarde reads  $\text{לָשְׁמֹרְתָם}$  for  $\text{לְבָרְכָם}$  and translates it "take counsel together".<sup>18</sup> Rowley concurs with Lagarde because the emendation yields a much improved parallel.<sup>19</sup> But parallel to what? Lagarde has obviously thought of a parallel between his proposed  $\text{לָשְׁמֹרְתָם}$  and  $\text{לְדַבֵּרְתָם}$ . If this is so, then  $\text{לְשַׁבְּרָם}$  ought to be parallel to  $\text{לְלַמְּתָם}$ ; but this is not the case. The LXX ( $\text{παρέστησαν}$ ) certainly read  $\text{לְבָרְכָם}$ .<sup>20</sup> Kraus believes that " $\text{לְבָרְכָם}$ " in Sinne des kriegerischen Auftretens (1 S 17:16, Jer 46:4) gibt einen guten Sinn und erübrigt eine Korrektur in  $\text{לָשְׁמֹרְתָם}$ ".<sup>21</sup> Dahood's translation, "take their stand" for a pitched battle, points in the same direction.<sup>22</sup>

There is a division of opinion as to the root of  $\text{לְדַבֵּרְתָם}$ . B.D.B.<sup>23</sup> and K.B.L.<sup>24</sup> derive it from  $\text{דָּבַר}$ , to sit together (Nl.).<sup>25</sup> On the other hand, Rowley thinks that the root is  $\text{דָּבַר}$ , to counsel, to speak.<sup>26</sup> There is little doubt that these verbs are related; but it is difficult, if not impossible, to decide precisely which root lies behind  $\text{לְדַבֵּרְתָם}$ .  $\text{συνήχθησαν}$  points clearly to the root  $\text{דָּבַר}$ , but  $\text{ἐπαρρησίασαντο}$  (Aquila) and  $\text{συσκεπτονται}$  (Symmachus) read  $\text{דָּבַר}$ , to counsel. Some have turned to Ps. 31:14 (M.T.) for clarification, but this only duplicates the problem found in Ps. 2.<sup>27</sup> Thus no final decision can be made on lexical grounds.<sup>28</sup>

In the third line of the strophe this rebellion of the nations and their leaders is shown to be "against the Lord and (against) his anointed."<sup>29</sup> For metrical reasons Sonne<sup>30</sup> and Kraus<sup>31</sup> omit this phrase. The previously mentioned objection to emendation on the

ground of metri causa need not be repeated. Surely, Rowley is correct in stating that, "There is no sound reason for the deletion, which is merely dictated by a priori of the structure of the psalm."<sup>32</sup> The meaning of the term  $\text{לְכָל־אֲרָצוֹת}$  will be discussed later.

### 3. Scope of the Strophe

The crucial question in the first strophe is the scope or range of vss. 1, 2. Is this a local rebellion or a universal uproar? Several arguments have been put forward to defend the position that all that is involved in these verses is a minor rebellion of neighbouring countries. Sonne translates  $\text{לְכָל־אֲרָצוֹת}$  as "kings of the land" instead of "kings of the earth". In particular this land is the land of the Philistines.<sup>33</sup> Treves justifies a local interpretation on the basis of the lack of the definite article before "nations", "peoples", "kings" and "rulers".<sup>34</sup> Many O.T. scholars, however, have seen in these verses a universal scope. Indeed the usage of "kings of the earth" in Ps. 76:13 (M.T.), 89:28 (M.T.), 148:11 and "all the kings of the earth" in Pss. 102:15; 138:4 indicates a universal range.<sup>35</sup> The anarthrous use of "nations", "peoples", "kings of the earth" and "princes" in the M.T. (cf.  $\text{οἱ βασιλεῖς}$  and  $\text{οἱ ἄρχοντες}$ ) is not a proof of a local situation: Ps. 148 which calls upon "all his angels", "all his host", "sun and moon", "all you shining stars", "you highest heavens" and "you waters above the heavens" to praise Yahweh (vss. 2-4) also exhorts "kings of the earth and all peoples, princes and all rulers of the earth" (vs. 11) to praise Yahweh. All of the terms in Ps. 148:11 are anarthrous and certainly universal. But the determining factor for the universal scope of this strophe is the context of the whole psalm. It would be difficult to deny the universal intent of vss. 8-12.



This conclusion raises two crucial questions concerning the universality of this strophe. First, what is the relation of the language of this strophe to oriental Hofstil? This question has been answered in at least three different ways. 1) Gressman believes that the language of the strophe has been directly borrowed from oriental Hofstil and should be interpreted as mere flattery. No real universalism is intended.<sup>36</sup> 2) Von Rad,<sup>37</sup> de Vaux,<sup>38</sup> Weiser,<sup>39</sup> and Mowinckel<sup>40</sup> admit the direct influence of the language of oriental court style and yet retain a universalism. 3) Kraus,<sup>41</sup> Crim<sup>42</sup> and Rowley<sup>43</sup> acknowledge an indirect influence of Hofstil. While allowing for some possible borrowing from Hofstil, Kraus rejects the idea that the essential influence for the universal scope of this strophe was external to Israel. He explicates his position as follows: "The mythical and sacral themes of the ancient Oriental court culture are a secondary addition to the prophetic and historical event of the election of David. Elements of the courtly style and the royal ideology of their neighbours were certainly adopted in Israel, but they were refashioned in a remarkable way."<sup>44</sup> Rowley's characteristically balanced and cautious statement of the situation is worth quoting at length: "It is undeniable that Israel borrowed much from her neighbours. But it is unnecessary to make her a mere sponge that soaked up whatever came from her neighbours. Israel could never have exercised that enduring influence on the world which she has exercised if that had been so. There was that in her own heritage from the time of Moses which she did not derive from others, and it enabled her to borrow and to convert into the vehicle of her own faith that which she borrowed. To see Israel as wholly unique and to be set over against her neighbours is wrong; but it is equally wrong to read into the life and faith of Israel what we find only in

her neighbours and what is without clear trace in the Old Testament".<sup>45</sup> The position of this study is not to reject completely the influence of Hofstil, as Press<sup>46</sup> does, but to allow the possibility that some of the grand language of Ps. 2 has been taken from a foreign milieu, disinfected of any mythical elements<sup>47</sup> and then baptized into a theological setting where Yahweh is acknowledged as universal king.

Secondly, what is the basis of this universal rule? Although it may be true that the davidic kingdom provided a model for the universal scope,<sup>48</sup> the kingdom cannot serve as the basis for the universal scope. Kraus,<sup>49</sup> Schilling<sup>50</sup> and McKenzie<sup>51</sup> posit that Yahweh's universal rule is the basis for the universal rule of "his anointed". Yahweh is associated with his king and gives to "his anointed" this world-wide rulership. Kraus succinctly states that, "Sie ist in ihrem sachlichen Urgrund weder Protz noch Hofstil, weder Ideal noch Postulat, sondern das Ereignis eines umfassenden Mandates, das Jahwe als Schöpfer und Herr des Welt seinem erwählten König übereignet."<sup>52</sup>

#### C. Second Strophe (vss. 4-6)

Although no part of this strophe is directly quoted in the N.T., a brief survey of the contents will provide important background for the key sections. In the first strophe the actions (vss. 1, 2) and words (vs. 3) of the enemies of "Yahweh and his anointed" are recorded. In parallel form, the second strophe gives the actions (vss. 4, 5) and words (vs. 6) of Yahweh in reaction to these rebels. Yahweh will laugh and mock, he will speak to them in his wrath and he will terrify them in his fury. These bold anthropomorphisms depict the utter absurdity of rebellion against the sovereign <sup>717X</sup>. The Lord asserts that, "I (emphatic) have firmly set my king upon Zion, my holy mountain" (vs. 6). What can the rebels do to resist

his plan?

Recently, Dahood has renewed the contention for following in part the reading of the LXX for vs. 6 ( ἐγὼ δὲ κατεστάθην βασιλεὺς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ Σιών ὄρος τὸ ἅγιον αὐτοῦ ). He asserts that 1) there is a change of subject from God (vss. 4, 5) to the king (vs. 6), 2) this change is "patent" from the use of the waw adversativum ( ׀X׀ ), 3) the radicals ׀ל׀ו׀ should be pointed ׀ל׀ו׀ (Niphal) rather than ׀ל׀ו׀ (Qal), and 4) the suffix of ׀ו׀ִל and ׀ו׀ִל should be regarded as a third person rather than first person in the light of Phoenician and Ugaritic grammatical insights.<sup>53</sup> His translation reads, "But I have been anointed his king, upon Zion his holy mountain."

The question of the suffix in the Phoenician and Ugaritic materials and its application to B.H. is debatable. It is possible to point ׀ל׀ו׀ as a Niphal (on the meaning of ׀ו׀ see below). The waw could be a waw adversativum, but this is not mandatory. It appears that the change from the third person in vss. 4, 5 to the first person in vs. 6 is the crux of the problem. But is it necessary to have a change of subject because there is a change of person? It should be noted that strophes one and two can be viewed as parallel: first, the action (vss. 1, 2, 3, 4) and then the speaking (vss. 3, 6). This parallelism can also be seen in the change from the third person (vss. 1, 2, 4, 5) to the first person (vss. 3, 6) but in the shift from third person in vss. 1, 2 to third person in vs. 3 there is no change of subject. The change of person does not necessitate a change in the subject. Indeed, if Yahweh is retained as the subject of vs. 6, then the unity of the strophe is kept. In the M.T. each strophe has only one subject and retains its unity. Although the LXX has changed the subject, the Targum (׀ו׀ִל ׀ל׀ו׀ ) and (Aquila and Quinta

read καὶ ἐγὼ ἐδίασάμην βασιλέα μου ,  
 Symmachus reads καὶ γὰρ ἔχρισα τὸν βασιλέα μου  
 and Sexta has καὶ γὰρ δέεωσα τὸν βασιλέα μου )

do not indicate such a change. The arguments for a change from the M.T. and, hence, a change of subject are inadequate.

There is a dispute about the exact sense of ׀ל׀׀׀׀ . B.D.B.,<sup>54</sup> K.B.L.,<sup>55</sup> Delitzsch,<sup>56</sup> Hengstenberg<sup>57</sup> and Rowley<sup>58</sup> derive ׀ל׀׀׀׀ from ׀׀׀ and give "installed", "appointed" or "consecrated" as the correct meaning in this context. The LXX's κατεστᾶθην concurs with this meaning. ׀׀׀ can also mean "to pour", but it is a "pouring out" of molten metals and not a "pouring over" of anointing oil — Delitzsch<sup>59</sup> and Hengstenberg<sup>60</sup> are insistent about this distinction.<sup>61</sup> On the other hand, on the basis of Ugaritic materials Dahood thinks ׀׀׀ in Ps. 2 means "anointed".<sup>62</sup> He finds support for this view in the reading of Symmachus ( καὶ γὰρ ἔχρισα τὸν βασιλέα μου ). Yet Dahood admits that Ginsberg<sup>63</sup> and Driver<sup>64</sup> have differed with his interpretation of "tskh" in the Ugaritic materials. Furthermore, Aquila and Quinta (ἐδίασάμην) appear to have read ׀ל׀׀׀׀ as deriving from yet another root — ׀׀׀, to weave.<sup>65</sup> In light of the dispute about the Ugaritic material and the lack of evidence that ׀׀׀ was used to indicate a "pouring over" of the oil of anointing (cf. ׀׀׀׀), the verb ׀ל׀׀׀׀ should be translated "I have appointed".

#### D. Third Strophe (vss. 7-9)

##### 1. Introduction

This strophe is the heart of the psalm. The king is speaker, i.e. he recounts the decree of Yahweh, and subject, i.e. he speaks about himself. The decree declares the sonship of the king (vs. 7b),





an abbreviation for Yahweh), the change of  $\text{פָּרַח}$  to  $\text{פָּרַח}$  and the transposition of  $\text{קִי} \text{לְ} \text{פָּרַח}$  to follow  $\text{לְ} \text{פָּרַח}$ . Thus verse seven would read, "He said to me, 'I will gather you to my bosom: today I have begotten you',"<sup>68</sup> but so radical an emendation has not won widespread support. Furthermore, the LXX reads  $\text{οἶός μου ἐστὶ σύ}$  (Aquila has  $\text{τέκνον}$ ) and the recently published Qumran fragment of Ps. 2:6-7 (3Q2, D.J.D. II, 94) reads as follows:  $\text{לְ} \text{פָּרַח} \text{קִי} \text{לְ} \text{פָּרַח}$   $\text{בְּ} \text{לְ} \text{פָּרַח}$ . Thus it is not surprising that the fourth edition of Biblica Hebraica entirely omits this emendation.

c "I will tell of the decree of the Lord". Before taking up the crucial  $\text{קִי}$ , a few minor problems deserve attention. The Piel  $\text{פָּרַח}$  should probably be translated "recount"<sup>69</sup> or "tell" and not "read in" as Cooke supposes.<sup>70</sup> The use of  $\text{לְ}$  after the verb rather than the expected  $\text{בְּ}$  has caused some to suggest an emendation,<sup>71</sup> but  $\text{לְ}$  can mean "concerning".<sup>72</sup> Whichever way the preposition is to be construed, it is clear that the king is recounting or telling the content of the  $\text{קִי}$ .<sup>73</sup> There has been some confusion in the Greek versions as to the relation of  $\text{קִי}$  to  $\text{קִי}$ . The LXX, Aquila, Theodotion and Sexta all associate  $\text{קִי}$  with  $\text{קִי}$ . But the LXX and Aquila repeat  $\text{κύριος}$  with the following  $\text{לְ}$ . Probably  $\text{קִי}$  should be read with the  $\text{קִי}$ ; but, at any rate, the sense of the sentence is clear — the king recounts or tells the  $\text{קִי}$  that Yahweh has given to him.<sup>74</sup>

What is the meaning of  $\text{קִי}$  in this context? This calls for an examination of the definition of  $\text{קִי}$ , of von Rad's theory of the relation of  $\text{קִי}$  to the so-called Egyptian protocol and of the relation of  $\text{קִי}$  to  $\text{בְּרִי}$ .

The noun  $\text{קִי}$  comes from the verb  $\text{קָח}$  which means to "cut in,

inscribe or decree". Hence, the noun means "something prescribed, a statute or a due". The term can be used to refer to a "prescribed task" such as was given to Israel in Egypt concerning the making of bricks (Ex. 5:14), "prescribed portion" of food given to one (Pr. 30:8), "prescribed due" for the priest from the offerings (Lev. 6:11), "prescribed boundary" of sea, heaven or time, "specific decree" such as that given by Joseph during the famine in Egypt concerning the portion of the grain to be given to Pharaoh (Gen. 47:26) and in the plural it can mean "statutes" of a law.<sup>75</sup> In Ps. 2 it would appear that the meaning which fits the context is that of a "decree".

Von Rad's 1947 article, "Das judaische Königsritual",<sup>76</sup> is crucial for this study because it attempts to shed new light on the meaning of  $\text{קָנָה}$  and because it has exercised a widespread influence upon other scholars.<sup>77</sup> His article first outlines the coronation ceremony in Judah which consists of the anointing in the sanctuary and the enthronement in the royal palace. According to II Kings 11:12, Jehoiada the high priest "brought out the king's son, and put the crown ( $\text{קִרְיָא}$ ) upon him, and gave him the testimony ( $\text{אֵת הַיְּהוּדָה}$ )."<sup>78</sup> This testimony according to von Rad is an object which can be handed over — probably something written.<sup>79</sup> The logic of von Rad's argument is as follows: first, the  $\text{קָנָה}$  of vs. 7 is parallel to  $\text{אֵת הַיְּהוּדָה}$  and  $\text{אֵת הַיְּהוּדָה}$ ; secondly, the  $\text{אֵת הַיְּהוּדָה}$  of II Kings 11:12 is parallel to the Egyptian nekhbet. Since,  $\text{קָנָה} = \text{אֵת הַיְּהוּדָה}$  and  $\text{אֵת הַיְּהוּדָה} = \text{nekhbet}$ , therefore,  $\text{קָנָה} = \text{nekhbet}$ .<sup>80</sup>

The evidence for this double link of  $\text{קָנָה}$  to  $\text{אֵת הַיְּהוּדָה}$  and  $\text{אֵת הַיְּהוּדָה}$  to nekhbet must now be stated and evaluated. Von Rad first shows that  $\text{אֵת הַיְּהוּדָה}$  is related to  $\text{אֵת הַיְּהוּדָה}$ . In Ps. 89:40 (M.T.)  $\text{אֵת הַיְּהוּדָה}$  is connected with crown ( $\text{קִרְיָא}$ ) and in II Kings 11:12  $\text{אֵת הַיְּהוּדָה}$  is connected with crown; thus  $\text{אֵת הַיְּהוּדָה}$  and  $\text{אֵת הַיְּהוּדָה}$  are at least

indirectly connected. More to the point is his citation of Ps. 132:12 where  $\text{לר"ב}$  and  $\text{לדוד}$  are directly related. He also shows that in Ps. 105:10  $\text{לר"ב}$  is related to  $\text{קח}$ . By showing that  $\text{לר"ב}$  is related to both  $\text{לדוד}$  and  $\text{קח}$ , he concludes that  $\text{לדוד}$  and  $\text{קח}$  must be related to each other. It is strange that von Rad and others have failed to cite Ps. 81:5, 6 (M.T.) where  $\text{קח}$  and  $\text{לדוד}$  are directly related. But has von Rad established a valid link between  $\text{לדוד}$  and  $\text{קח}$ ? The answer is yes and no. Yes, if what is meant by  $\text{לדוד}$  is something like "testimony" or "law"; but no, if  $\text{לדוד}$  is taken to mean a "protocol" as von Rad does. Although he has legitimately found links between  $\text{לדוד}$  and  $\text{קח}$  where  $\text{לדוד}$  means "testimony" or "law" (Ps. 132:12;), he has not proved that there is a link between  $\text{קח}$  and  $\text{לדוד}$  where the latter means "protocol".

Von Rad's second link is that between  $\text{לדוד}$  and the Egyptian nekhbet. He translates nekhbet as "protocol" and defines it as a written document delivered to the king which contained the "ancient titles and sovereign rights and duties conferred on Pharaoh by the god, in brief, the king's authority to rule as the surrogate of the god".<sup>81</sup> To support this position he cites the speech of Amen-Re to his daughter: "My beloved daughter... I am thy beloved father. I establish thy dignity as Lord of the two lands. I write for thee thy protocol (nekhbet)."<sup>82</sup> But is this a valid link? For sake of argument it shall be granted that  $\text{לדוד}$  in II Kings 11:12 refers to a protocol (see footnote 79 where other opinions are expressed). But this still leaves open the Egyptian side of the question. Kitchen has protested against von Rad's translation and definition of the contents of the nekhbet.<sup>83</sup> He argues that the proper translation of nekhbet is "titulary" and not "protocol". This contention is supported by the improved edition of the text presented by Fairman



and Grdseloff. Their text is as follows:

Title: (1) An offering which Amen-Rē<sup>t</sup> gives at the appearance  
(2) of Makerē<sup>t</sup> for ever,

Before Amen-Rē<sup>t</sup>: (3) Amen-Rē<sup>t</sup>, Lord of The Great Seat.

Speech of Amen-Rē<sup>t</sup>: (4) Utterance by Amen-Rē<sup>t</sup>, Lord of  
the Thrones of the Two Lands, who is on his  
great seat (5) in the Great House (Pr-wr): 'O  
my beloved daughter (6) Makerē<sup>t</sup>, I am thy  
beloved father. (7) <I> establish <for> thee  
thy rank in the kingship, (8) of the Two Lands.  
I have fixed thy titulary.<sup>84</sup>

Here nekhbet is translated "titulary" and not "protocol".<sup>85</sup> It is not  
only von Rad's translation of nekhbet that is open to question but also  
his definition of the contents of the nekhbet. Concerning the text  
cited by von Rad, Kitchen comments that, "Amun declares his relationship  
to Hatshepsut, makes her ruler, and also writes her nekhbet (separate  
from these and not including them). The titulary and the legitimation  
of a pharaoh are two distinct things."<sup>86</sup> Thus, von Rad's double link  
of  $\text{pn}$  to  $\text{nty}$  and  $\text{nty}$  to nekhbet does not stand up under  
closer analysis.<sup>87</sup>

Since von Rad's explanation of the  $\text{pn}$  must be set aside, what  
other clarification of the matter can be offered? Perhaps a more  
profitable avenue of inquiry is the exploration of the relation of  
 $\text{pn}$  to  $\text{nr}$ . First, the parallel between  $\text{pn}$  and  $\text{nr}$  in  
Ps. 105:10 ("which covenant with Abraham he confirmed to Jacob as a  
statute ( $\text{pn}$ ), to Israel as an everlasting covenant ( $\text{nr}$ )") shows  
that these terms are related.<sup>88</sup> Secondly, although II Sam. 7 does not  
use the word  $\text{nr}$ , it is clear that Yahweh's promise to David to  
build him a house was considered a covenant (see Ps. 89:3;<sup>89</sup> 132:11,  
12; II Sam. 23:5; Is. 55:3). Thirdly, it is a widely accepted opinion  
that "you are my son" of Ps. 2:7 is related to "I will be his father,  
and he shall be my son" of II Sam. 7:14.<sup>90</sup> Since the content of the  
 $\text{pn}$  of Ps. 2:7 is related to the content of the  $\text{nr}$  concept of

II Sam. 7:14, it follows that  $\text{פן}$  is related (not necessarily equated) to  $\text{פני}$ . Therefore, it is suggested that relating  $\text{פן}$  to  $\text{פני}$  is more defensible than relating  $\text{פן}$  to  $\text{פניו}$  where this means protocol.

d. "You are my son, today I have begotten you" (vs. 7b). The importance of this sentence in the psalm cannot be over emphasized. The declaration of the sonship of the king is the response of Yahweh to the raging nations. The attack and counter-attack in vss. 1-6 lead up to this pronouncement of the king's sonship and from this decisive decree issues the son's inheritance and dominion. Two questions concerning this decree call for attention. Is the sonship metaphysical or metaphorical? Does this declaration involve adoption or legitimation?

The first question concerns the assertion by Engnell<sup>91</sup> and Widengren<sup>92</sup> that to call the king a "son" is to call him a god. They assert that in other cultures to call the king a son is to call him a deity. The patternist position treats the cultures that surrounded Israel as essentially uniform on the point under discussion and as the source of the kingship ideology in the Royal Psalms. Criticism of Engnell and Widengren has not been lacking. First, the methodology of this school of thought is open to question. It appears to establish an idea outside the O.T. culture and then to "discover" hints of this idea in the O.T. itself. Surely, it would be better to start from the O.T. and work out to the other cultures. Secondly, Bernhardt in his extensive study of the altorientalischen Königsideologie in the O.T. has shown that 1) O.T. evidence for the identification of the king with deity is lacking, 2) there is no proof that worship was offered to the king and 3) the king is not depicted as exercising power over the forces of nature.<sup>93</sup> Thirdly, de Vaux<sup>94</sup> and Cooke<sup>95</sup>

have challenged the idea that the deification of the king was shared by all the peoples of the ancient Near East. Fourthly, Dahood has asserted that if there was a concept of the deification of the king, it is strange that prophetic Yahwism did not attack the Hebrew king and the kingship on this score.<sup>96</sup> Fifthly, Cooke understands the word  $\square\gamma\gamma$  to exclude the possibility of the physical begetting of the king by a god.<sup>97</sup> He advocates that  $\square\gamma\gamma$  refers to the day of the king's accession (see Sitz im Leben below). Finally, reflecting on the frailty and failure of the Jewish king, von Rad declares that, "There is no possibility of regarding him as an incarnation of the deity."<sup>98</sup> Certainly, these arguments make it very difficult, if not impossible, to maintain that in Israel the king as the son of Yahweh was viewed as a deity.<sup>99</sup>

The words "you are my son" are regarded by most scholars as a metaphor. The arguments against the metaphysical interpretation (some of which are also arguments for the metaphorical view) leave little room for doubt about the correct position.

Accepting the metaphorical interpretation of the king's sonship in Ps. 2:7, a second question now arises. Is Ps. 2:7 speaking of adoption or legitimation? Those who think that "you are my son" is an adoption formula<sup>100</sup> adduce their evidence for the practice of adoption from the O.T. and for the adoption formula from extra biblical sources, namely the Code of Hammurabi. Among others, Moule<sup>101</sup> and Donner<sup>102</sup> have shown in regard to the alleged examples of the practice of adoption in the O.T. (i.e. "adoption" of Abraham's servant, Gen. 15:1ff; Moses becoming Pharaoh's son, Ex. 2:10; Naomi's "adoption" of the son of Boaz and Ruth, Ruth 4:16f; and the adoption of Esther by Mordecai, Esther 2:7) that the case of Esther and Moses take place in a foreign context, that by levirate law the son of Boaz was Naomi's

descendant and that the case of Abraham's servant is in doubt because of the possibility of textual corruption (vs. 2) and of foreign influence. According to Donner these O.T. cases are "Pflegschaftsverhältnis" or "einfachen familienrechtlichen Anerkennungsakten" not "Rechtsinstitut der Annahme an Kindesstatt (adoptio filii loco)".<sup>103</sup>

Concerning the extra-biblical evidence for an adoption formula, Donner apparently is the first scholar to thoroughly challenge the widely held position<sup>104</sup> that the Code of Hammurabi (esp. paragraphs 170, 171, 190, 191) provides evidence that "you are my son" is an adoption formula. In paragraphs 170, 171 where the words "(you are) my sons" occur, Donner has pointed out that these "sons" are the sons that the father has begotten through a slave girl. Thus Donner declares that "man adoptiert nicht seine leiblichen Kinder." This is not an act of adoption but a "Legitimationsakt".<sup>105</sup> Although paragraphs 190, 191 (cf. 185ff) possibly speak of adoption,<sup>106</sup> they contain the negative statements "thou art not my father" or "thou art not my mother" ("den Revokationsschutzklausen der Adoptionsverträge"<sup>107</sup>) but not the alleged adoption formula ("you are my son").<sup>108</sup> Thus "you are my son" of Ps. 2:7 will not be referred to as an adoption formula.<sup>109</sup>

How are the words "you are my son" of Ps. 2:7 to be explained? In light of Donner's work on the extra biblical materials, it would be possible to envisage "you are my son" as a legitimation of the king.<sup>110</sup> This legitimation of the new king is part of the coronation ritual of Judah (see below on Sitz im Leben). But why is the king called "son"? This might reflect the influence of the Egyptian and the Mesopotamian idea that the king was a son of god.<sup>111</sup> Such a concept, of course, would have been modified when it was taken over

into the O.T. context. From the point of view of the O.T. itself, Fohrer has observed that, "As the election of Israel and God's assurances to it in the events of the exodus and Sinai constitute the form and basis of the idea of the election of David and his house and of the so-called Davidic covenant, so the concept of Israel's sonship is well adapted to serve as a model for the relation between Yahweh and the Davidic dynasty."<sup>112</sup>

Before moving to the next section, the sentence "today, I have begotten you" must briefly be considered. It has already been shown that these words cannot refer to a physical begetting of the king by Yahweh. Some older exegetes understand  $\square \tau' \tau$  as a designation of eternity in which there is neither past nor future,<sup>113</sup> but this is a philosophical not a biblical concept. Usually,  $\square \tau' \tau$  is understood as a reference to the day of the son's installation as king.<sup>114</sup> How then is  $\tau' \tau \tau \tau$  to be understood? Jeremiah 2:27 provides an instructive parallel: "Who say to a tree, 'You are my father' and to a stone 'You gave me birth ( $\tau' \tau \tau \tau$ )'." The parallelism shows that to speak of being begotten is the same thing as saying that someone is "my father". So the parallelism in Ps. 2:7 is stating that, "You are my son; today, I have become your father" (N.E.B.; Jerusalem Bible). This reflects the language and thought of II Sam. 7:14 ("I will be his father, and he shall be my son") with which Ps. 2:7 is closely associated.

e. Finally, a brief Traditionsgeschichte of the concept "son" helps to place the sentence "you are my son" in its proper O.T. perspective.<sup>115</sup> In Ex. 4:22, 23 Yahweh calls Israel his "first-born son" ( $\tau' \tau \tau \tau$ , υἱὸς πρωτότοκός μου ) and "my son" ( $\tau' \tau \tau$ , τὸν λαόν μου ). Thus in a corporate sense Israel is referred to as "my son" (cf. Hosea 11:1). Israel obtained



this sonship because of his election by Yahweh (Deut. 14:1, 2). This election of Israel to be his son occurs in the context of the Mosaic covenant (Ex. 19:5). Furthermore, in the "Song of Moses" (Deut. 32) Yahweh, "your father" (vs. 6), is depicted as the "Rock that begot you (  $\overline{\Gamma\Gamma}^3$  )" (vs. 18). Hence, Israel viewed as a corporate entity is called a son whom Yahweh has elected and begotten in the context of a covenant.

The davidic king is called a "son" in the seminal promise<sup>116</sup> made to David in II Sam. 7:14. This promise is taken up in the Royal Psalms.<sup>117</sup> Ps. 89, which is closely linked with II Sam. 7 (cf. Ps. 89: 3, 4, 26-39), states that, "He shall cry to me, 'Thou art my Father...' and I will make him the first-born...."<sup>118</sup> Ps. 2:7, which is also associated with II Sam. 7:14, calls the king "my son". The sonship of the king, as stated in II Sam. 7 and Pss. 2, 89, is placed in the context of the davidic covenant.<sup>119</sup> The king as son is viewed as an elected one in II Sam. 7:8-17, and in Ps. 89:3 he is called "my chosen one". Finally, it can be shown that the king, as son, was "begotten" by Yahweh.<sup>120</sup> Hence, the king is called a son whom Yahweh has elected and begotten in the context of a covenant. The king in his own person parallels the tradition concerning Israel's sonship. The concept of the sonship of Israel (Is. 1:2, 63:16, 64:8; Jer. 3:19, 31:9, Mal. 1:6, 2:10; Hosea 11:1) and the davidic king (Is. 9:6) continues into N.T. times.<sup>121</sup> Thus the biblical portrayal (II Sam. 7, Pss. 2, 89, etc.) of the davidic king is part of a significant on-going, growing stream of tradition that flows into the N.T.

f. Summary. The decree of the king's sonship is the keystone of the psalm's structure. Emendations of this text based on metri causa are unwarranted. Analysis of the term  $\overline{\rho\pi}$  and Near Eastern texts demonstrates that von Rad's contention that  $\overline{\rho\pi}$  is related to





Symm. συντρίψεις αὐτοῦς

Aquila (vs. 9b) προσρήξεις αὐτοῦς

Targ. תַּבְרִינוֹן הֵן בְּחֻמָּר אֲרָא דְּפִרְזֵי אֵין  
דְּפִחַר תַּרְעִינוֹן

b. Verse Eight. The discussion of this verse includes (a) proposed emendations, (b) a consideration of key terms ("inheritance", "nations") and (c) Traditionsgeschichte of the inheritance — gentile motif.

(a) For metrical reasons some have deleted ׀ ׀ ׀ ׀ ִשׁׁשׁ. <sup>122</sup> On the other hand, Dahood retains the radicals and reads "ask wealth of me" (׀ ׀ ׀ ׀ ִשׁׁשׁ). <sup>123</sup> Following up on Dahood's suggestion Brownlee proposes that there is a case of haplography here and that the original read ׀ ׀ ׀ ׀ ׀ ׀ ׀ ִשׁׁשׁ ("ask then wealth from me"). <sup>124</sup> This would result in a 3/3/3 metric pattern. Although Brownlee's suggestion is attractive, emendations on the basis of metri causa in Hebrew poetry are generally unwarranted. If one accepts Dahood's use of the possessive suffix to mean "of me", his suggestion is a plausible reading. At any rate, the text as it stands in the M.T. makes good sense and is the reading of the LXX and the Targum. The somewhat awkward sentence תַּלְתֵּי אֲנִי אֲשַׁלֵּם is smoothed out by the LXX which reads καὶ δώσω σοι ἔθνη τὴν κληρονομίαν σου.

(b) ׀ ׀ ׀ ׀ ִשׁׁשׁ forms a bridge between the declaration of the king's sonship (vs. 7) and his inheritance (vs. 8). Since the king is Yahweh's son, he is invited to "ask" from his father in order to receive his inheritance. Probably the instruction to Solomon to "ask what I shall give you" (I Kings 3:5) is parallel to Ps. 2:8. Rengstorf has suggested that there are other parallels to Ps. 2:8 in which an "adopted son" "asks" from his "father". In II Kings 2:9

Elijah invites Elisha to "ask what I shall do for thee, before I be taken away from thee!" Elisha's request is for a "double portion of thy spirit". In this request Rengstorf finds a reference to the double portion of the eldest son, the first-born. So he concludes that, "Elisha, as it were, enters into the relationship of a first-born son to Elijah without actually being his son by birth",<sup>125</sup> and thus the asking takes place in the context of an "adopted son" and his "father". This might be reckoned as a parallel to Ps. 2:8, but his other examples are not convincing.<sup>126</sup> Furthermore, his contention that "ask of me" is part of the "Judean royal ritual" has not been established.<sup>127</sup>

Yahweh's response to his son's asking is to give to him the  $\square'77\lambda$  as a  $\pi^3\pi\lambda$  and the  $\pi^3\pi\lambda$  as a  $\pi^3\pi\lambda$ . The concept of the king receiving the "ends of the earth" needs little clarification, but what is meant by the king inheriting<sup>128</sup> the  $\square'77\lambda$ ?<sup>129</sup> To place this question in historical perspective, first the connection of  $\pi^3\pi\lambda$  or  $\pi^3\pi\lambda$  with  $\square'77\lambda$ , which is rare, needs to be studied; and then the meaning of  $\square'77\lambda$  in Ps. 2:8 must be determined.  $\pi^3\pi\lambda$  and  $\square'77\lambda$  are connected in Joshua 23:4: "Behold, I have allotted to you as an inheritance ( $\pi^3\pi\lambda$ ) for your tribes those nations ( $\square'77\lambda$ ) that remain, along with all the nations that I have already cut off...." In what sense did Israel inherit the  $\square'77\lambda$ ? The context of Joshua 23 makes it clear that Israel did not inherit the  $\square'77\lambda$  as such but their land: "The LORD your God will push them back before you, and drive them out of your sight; and you shall possess their land, as the LORD your God promised you" (vs. 5). Ps. 78:55 connects the two words in the same way: "He drove out nations ( $\square'77\lambda$ ) before them; he apportioned them for a possession ( $\pi^3\pi\lambda$  בחבלם), and settled the tribes

of Israel in their tents." Ps. 111, which mentions God's covenant (vss. 5, 9), declares that "He has shown his people the power of his works in giving them the heritage of the nations ( $\square \pi \tilde{\gamma} \lambda \lambda \tilde{\gamma} \square \gamma \lambda \lambda \tilde{\gamma} \pi \gamma$ )" (vs. 6). Again the idea is that of taking possession of the land. All of these seem to express the same concept as that found in Deut. 4:38: "...driving out before you nations ( $\square \gamma \lambda$ ) greater and mightier than yourselves, to bring you in, to give you their land for an inheritance ( $\pi \tilde{\gamma} \pi \gamma$ ), as at this day."<sup>130</sup> On the other hand, Ps. 82:8, which refers to Yahweh rather than Israel, seems to speak of an inheritance of nations in terms of people rather than land: "Arise, O God, judge the earth; for to thee belong all the nations ( $\square \gamma \lambda \pi \tilde{\gamma} \gamma \tilde{\gamma} \pi \gamma \lambda \pi \lambda \chi \gamma$ )!" That  $\square \gamma \lambda$  here means people rather than land is evident from the fact that "nations" is parallel to "earth" which in this context must be taken as a figure of speech pointing to the people who dwell on the earth. When Ps. 79:1 ("O God, the heathen have come into thy inheritance; they have defiled thy holy temple....") is added to the previous citations, the list of places where  $\tilde{\gamma} \pi \gamma / \pi \tilde{\gamma} \pi \gamma$  and  $\square \gamma \lambda$  are connected is complete. Thus when Israel is spoken of as inheriting, the object in view is the land. On the other hand, Yahweh, who inherits the earth (land), is also spoken of as inheriting the nations where the word designates people.

Secondly, what is the meaning of  $\square \gamma \lambda$  in Ps. 2:8? Does it refer to land and thus is parallel to "the ends of the earth" or does it refer to people? In verse one of this psalm  $\square \gamma \lambda$  are viewed as people who are represented by their kings and princes and are in revolt against Yahweh and his anointed. In vs. 9 the king declares that he shall "break them" (R.S.V.) or "shepherd them" (see below). This action clearly refers to people, not land. Finally, vss. 10, 11

speak of "kings" and "rulers" who are instructed to submit because of the king's sonship and his inheritance and threatened treatment of the  $\square^{\prime}\eta\eta$ . Thus  $\square^{\prime}\eta\eta$  in Ps. 2:8 refers to people; and understanding "ends of the earth" as a reference to land,<sup>131</sup> the combination of  $\square^{\prime}\eta\eta$  and  $\eta\eta\chi \eta\eta\chi$  depicts the whole world (people and land) as the king's inheritance.

(c) The history of the idea of inheritance of  $\square^{\prime}\eta\eta$  in part has already been given. Here, only an outline of the continuance of this idea can be given. On the one hand, there is the continuance of the idea of the inheritance of the  $\square^{\prime}\eta\eta$  in terms of land. Isaiah 54:3 declares, "Your descendants will possess ( $\psi\eta^{\prime}$ ) the nations and will people the desolate cities." Jer. 3:19 promises, "I thought how I would set you among my sons, and give you a pleasant land, a heritage most beautiful of all nations ( $\eta\eta\chi\eta\eta \eta\eta \eta\eta\eta$   $\square^{\prime}\eta\eta$ ). And I thought you would call me My Father...." (In Jer. 3:19 can be seen the son-inheritance-nation motif.) On the other hand, there is a continuance of the idea of the inheritance of the  $\square^{\prime}\eta\eta$  in terms of people. Amos 9:11, 12 states that, "In that day I will raise up the booth of David that is fallen and repair its breaches, and raise up its ruins, and rebuild it as in the days of old; that they may possess ( $\eta\psi\eta^{\prime}$ ) the remnant of Edom and all the nations ( $\square^{\prime}\eta\eta\eta$ ) who are called by my name, says the Lord who does this."<sup>132</sup> Since this passage refers to the "booth of David", "possess" (or inherit) and "nations", it is reasonable to conclude that Amos 9:11, 12 belongs to an inheritance-gentile tradition<sup>133</sup> such as is found in Ps. 2:8. Thus within the O.T. there is an inheritance-gentile tradition which contains two strands -- the inheritance of the gentiles in terms of land and the inheritance of the gentiles in terms of people, the former being the older. Since

in the O.T. Israel is viewed as a son (Ex. 4:22f), one could speak of a son-inheritance-gentile tradition. This tradition in the form of son-inheritance-gentile (= people) is evident in Ps. 2:7, 8.

c. Verse Nine. Vs. 8 declares the son's inheritance of the "gentiles"; vs. 9 graphically depicts how he will deal with them in judgment. In this section special attention will be given to (a) the pointing and meaning of  $\square\psi\tau\lambda$ , (b) the elucidation of  $\square\psi\tau$ , (c) the imagery of the breaking of the potter's vessel and (d) the Traditionsgeschichte of the shepherd-king motif.

(a) The crux interpretum of vs. 9 is the pointing of  $\square\psi\tau\lambda$ . The M.T. reads  $\square\psi\tau\lambda$  for which the root is the Aramaic word  $\psi\tau$  (break) — this is related to the Hebrew  $\psi\tau$ .  $\square\psi\tau\lambda$  is the reading of Symmachus (  $\sigma\upsilon\nu\tau\rho\acute{\iota}\psi\epsilon\iota\varsigma$  (s.  $\sigma\upsilon\nu\theta\lambda\acute{\alpha}\sigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$  )  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$  ) and the Targum (  $\square\psi\tau\lambda$  ). On the other hand, the radicals can be pointed  $\square\psi\tau\lambda$  and can be linked to  $\pi\psi\tau$ . This is the reading of the LXX (  $\pi\omicron\iota\mu\alpha\upsilon\epsilon\iota\varsigma$  ), the Syriac, Jerome (paces eos), the Vulgate (reges eos). It is thought that  $\square\psi\tau\lambda$  is incongruous with  $\square\psi\tau\lambda$  and that  $\square\psi\tau\lambda$  is a better parallel to  $\square\psi\tau\lambda$ .<sup>134</sup> Attempts to show that vs. 9a and vs. 9b are not parallel seemed forced.<sup>135</sup>

Is there any possibility of pointing the text  $\square\psi\tau\lambda$  in agreement with the LXX (and other witnesses) and at the same time keeping the parallelism of vss. 9a and 9b? Briggs points the text  $\square\psi\tau\lambda$  and translates it, "Thou shalt rule them with an iron sceptre."<sup>136</sup> But he does not explain how this translation agrees with vs. 9b. Usually  $\pi\psi\tau$  is translated rule and has a positive or benign sense, i.e. it refers to the shepherding or tending of sheep. It is the position of this paper that  $\pi\psi\tau$  (and  $\pi\omicron\iota\mu\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$ ) occasionally indicates shepherding in a destructive rather than a



constructive sense and that such a sense of  $\Pi\Upsilon\Gamma$  agrees well with both the LXX's translation of vs. 9a (  $\Pi\omicron\iota\mu\alpha\nu\epsilon\iota\varsigma$  ) and vs. 9b in the M.T. This is a position that generally has been overlooked by interpreters of vs. 9.<sup>137</sup> The evidence for the secondary, destructive sense of  $\Pi\Upsilon\Gamma$  (and  $\Pi\omicron\iota\mu\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$  ) is as follows. First, the most instructive instance is found in Jeremiah 22:22: "The wind shall shepherd all your shepherds (  $\Pi\Upsilon\Gamma\lambda\ \Gamma\prime\Upsilon\Gamma\ \zeta\kappa$   $\Pi\Gamma\Gamma$ ,  $\Pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\alpha\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \Pi\omicron\iota\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \Pi\omicron\iota\mu\alpha\nu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\mu\omicron\varsigma$  ) and your lovers shall go into captivity." The R.S.V. has preserved the word-play found in both the M.T. and LXX. Thus the "shepherds who destroy and scatter the sheep" (Jer. 23:1) will themselves be "shepherded". Secondly, there is a use of  $\Pi\Upsilon\Gamma$  (and  $\Pi\omicron\iota\mu\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$  ) in a destructive sense in Micah 5:5 (M.T.) where in the context there is possibly a play on the word  $\Pi\Upsilon\Gamma$  (and  $\Pi\omicron\iota\mu\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$  ). Micah 5:1-3 (M.T.) speaks of the one who shall come from Bethlehem Ephrathah, the place traditionally associated with David, to be a ruler in Israel (vs. 1, M.T.) and to "feed his flock" (  $\Pi\Upsilon\Gamma\Gamma$ ,  $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}\ \Pi\omicron\iota\mu\alpha\nu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\ \tau\omicron\ \Pi\omicron\acute{\iota}\mu\omicron\nu\kappa\iota\omicron\nu\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$  vs. 3 M.T.). But in sharp contrast with this shepherding is the "shepherding" found in vs. 5 (M.T.). Vss. 4, 5 declare that, "This shall be peace, when the Assyrian comes into our land and treads upon our soil, that we will raise against him seven shepherds (  $\Pi\Upsilon\Gamma$ ,  $\Pi\omicron\iota\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\varsigma$  ) and eight princes of men; they [the shepherds] shall rule (  $\Gamma\Upsilon\Gamma\Gamma$ ,  $\Pi\omicron\iota\mu\alpha\nu\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\nu$  ) the Assyrian with a sword" (vs. 5). Thirdly, the Psalmists declares that the fate of those who have foolish confidence will be thus: "Like sheep they are appointed for Sheol; Death shall be their shepherd (  $\Pi\Upsilon\Gamma\prime\ \lambda\iota\delta$ ,  $\theta\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$   $\Pi\omicron\iota\mu\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\iota\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$  ); straight to the grave they descend, and their form shall waste away; Sheol shall be their home" (Ps. 49:15,

M.T.). Although there is not a play on the term  $\Pi\Upsilon\Gamma$  (and  $\Pi\omicron\mu\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$ ) in this passage, it is clear from the context (cf. vs. 16, M.T.) that the "shepherding" is of a destructive nature.<sup>138</sup>

Thus, in the light of these three examples of the destructive use of  $\Pi\Upsilon\Gamma$  (and  $\Pi\omicron\mu\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$ ), it is possible to posit that there is the possibility of a similar use of the term in Ps. 2:9a. Such a use would take into account both the reading of the LXX (and other versions) and the parallel line in vs. 9b. Thus vs. 9 would read as follows: "You will 'shepherd' (in a destructive sense) them with an iron sceptre, as a potter's vessel you will dash them in pieces."

Furthermore,  $\square\Upsilon\Gamma$  is in agreement with the shepherd imagery associated with  $\square\Upsilon\psi$  (see below).

(b)  $\square\Upsilon\psi$  can be used to refer to a tribe (Ps. 74:2), a long slender shepherd's staff (Lev. 27:32), a shepherd's rod or club which was about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  feet in length and made from an oak sapling — the bulging head, into which nails were driven, being shaped out of the stem at the beginning of the root<sup>139</sup> or a sceptre that was the symbol of authority. The last two are closely associated because the imagery of the shepherd, who held the rod, and the king, who held the sceptre, are combined in the ancient Near East in the familiar shepherd-king concept.<sup>140</sup> The sceptre became a stylized military weapon (mace) which served well to symbolize the king's striking power, his authority.<sup>141</sup> The use of the  $\square\Upsilon\psi$  as an instrument to strike through the enemies can be seen in Num. 24:17 ("And a sceptre shall arise out of Israel; it shall crush the forehead of Moab, and break down all the sons of Sheth.") and Is. 14:5, 6 ("The sceptre of the rulers that smote the people in wrath with unceasing blows, that ruled the nations in anger..."). The use of  $\square\Upsilon\psi$  in Ps. 2:9 is probably that of an iron sceptre of the shepherd-king that is used



to "shepherd" the rebellious nations.

(c) Kleber has proposed that the words "you shall shatter them as a potter's vessel" reflect the Egyptian coronation custom of symbolically destroying pots inscribed with the names of foreign nations.<sup>142</sup> That such a custom existed in Egypt is not doubted, but is it reflected in Ps. 2:9b ("and [you] shall dash them in pieces like a potter's vessel")? This is unlikely because vs. 9b is simply a well-known O.T. simile (𐤓𐤕𐤕𐤕) used in this context to illustrate the thoroughness of the destruction of the nations.

(d) The Traditionsgeschichte of vs. 9 can be divided into two sections. There is a history of tradition associated with 𐤕𐤕𐤕. This will be taken up in ch. V. The second section concerns the relation of Ps. 2 to the davidic, shepherd-king tradition. Probably the easiest way to identify the points of contact between Ps. 2:9 and the davidic, shepherd-king tradition is to chart the texts involved. This chart does not seek to establish literary dependence. Nor does it indicate that the strand of the tradition found in Ps. 2:9 is the same as that in the other passages.

There are several points of contact between Ps. 2 and the davidic, shepherd-king tradition. The "son" of Ps. 2:7 has been shown to be related to the promise (II Sam. 7:14) to David, the shepherd-king (II Sam. 7:7, 8). The "king" of Ps. 2:6 is parallel to the king-prince idea in this tradition. 𐤓𐤕 of Ps. 2:7 is related to the davidic covenant implied in II Sam. 7 (cf. Eze. 34, 37). The shepherd in the davidic, shepherd-king tradition shepherds Israel which is the flock of Yahweh, his inheritance. This motif appears in its negative aspect in Ps. 2:9 where the davidic, shepherd-king in a destructive sense "shepherds" the gentiles, his inheritance (Ps. 2:8). (How the inheritance is shepherded depends upon the

## Davidic, Shepherd-King Tradition

II Sam. 5:1, 3, (I Chr. 11:2)	David	shepherd	prince (T' T' T')	king	my servant	my people	covenant <sup>144</sup>
II Sam. 7: 7, 8	David	shepherd <sup>143</sup>	prince (T' T' T')	king (vs. 18)	his servant	"of Jacob his people, of Israel his inheritance."	
Ps. 78:70, 71	David	shepherd					
Jer. 23:5	David	shepherd (cf. 22: 22, 30; 23:1-4)	king, righteous branch				
Eze. 34: 23-25	David	one shepherd	prince (X' T' T')		my servant		covenant of peace
Eze. 37: 24-26	David	one shepherd	king parallel to prince (X' T' T')		my servant		covenant of peace, an everlasting covenant
Micah 5: 2-4	One from Bethlehem Ephrathah (T' T' T')	he shall feed	one who is to be ruler over Israel			flock	
P.S. 17:45	He (Davidic Messiah)	shepherds (T' T' T' T')				the flock of the Lord	
Ps. 2	Son (vs. 7) (cf. II Sam. 7:14)	shepherd- ing (T' T' T' T')	king (vs. 6)			gentiles as your inheritance (vs. 8) <sup>145</sup>	P' T' related to T' T' T'.

nature of the inheritance.) The reading  $\square y \gamma \lambda$  in Ps. 2:9 provides a clear linguistic link with the shepherding tradition. Taken as a whole, these points of contact between Ps. 2 and the davidic, shepherd-king tradition indicate that Ps. 2 probably belongs in this general tradition.<sup>146</sup>

#### E. Fourth Strophe (vss. 10-12)

Although this is an important strophe for the psalm itself, it is not quoted in the N.T. In the light of Yahweh's reaction (vss. 4-6) to the rebellion of the gentiles (vss. 1-3) and the son's resultant authority, the kings and rulers are exhorted to be wise and to be warned. This call to repentance is a crucial qualification to the destructive shepherding of vs. 9. If the nations submit, then it would appear that instead of being destructively shepherded they would be constructively shepherded. The crux interpretum of vss. 11b-12a does not significantly affect the meaning of this strophe.<sup>147</sup> Ps. 2 ends where Ps. 1 began: "Blessed are all who take refuge in him."

### III. Sitz im Leben, Occasion and Date of Psalm Two

#### A. Sitz im Leben

There is almost universal agreement among O.T. scholars that the Sitz im Leben of Ps. 2 is the coronation of the king.<sup>148</sup> Gunkel,<sup>149</sup> and many others who have followed his suggestion,<sup>150</sup> classifies this psalm as a Royal Psalm (Königspsalmen). Ps. 2:6 ("I have set my king upon Zion my holy hill") depicts the king's accession to the throne and Ps. 2:7-9 recounts the divine  $\Pi$ . De Vaux, in reliance upon the two accounts of enthronement in the O.T. (Solomon's in I Kings 1:32-48 and Jehoash's in II Kings 11:12-20), reconstructs the coronation ceremony with which this Royal Psalm is associated as follows: investiture with the insignia (not mentioned for Solomon), anointing, acclamation, enthronement and homage of the high officials (not mentioned for Jehoash's).<sup>151</sup> Possibly the king recited Ps. 2 after he ascended the throne. To attempt to relate Ps. 2 to one of the current theories of the Israelite festivals ("New Year Festival" by Mowinckel<sup>152</sup> "Royal Zion Festival" by Kraus,<sup>153</sup> "Covenant Festival" by Weiser<sup>154</sup> and a proposal by Johnson<sup>155</sup>) is even more difficult, if not impossible. What all of these theories have in common is that Ps. 2 was used more than once.

#### B. Occasion

Attempts to locate a specific historical occasion for the composition of this psalm are characteristic of older commentators such as Briggs who tries to find the occasion for this psalm on the basis of the description of the rebellion of vs. 1, 2.<sup>156</sup> But all such attempts have been futile. The description of the rebellion is in general terms that could fit numerous historical rebellions. Moreover, the newer approach of placing this psalm in the Gattung

of the Royal Psalms makes the attempt to find a particular historical occasion unnecessary.

### C. Date

Recently, Treves has revived the attempt to date Ps. 2 (and Ps. 110) primarily on the basis of the supposed acrostic referring to Jannaeus: "Sing ye to Jannaeus the First and his wife" (X ך״ך

ךך ך״ך״ך).<sup>157</sup> Treves couples this acrostic with other arguments from the content and linguistic features and arrives at 103 B.C. as the date for this psalm. But such an extreme position has not gone unchallenged. Lindars has examined each argument of Treves' position.<sup>158</sup> In the area of content, Lindars has shown that the phrase "holy mountain" (vs. 6) is used prior to the time of Josiah and thus is not admissible as evidence for a post-exilic date. The linguistic argument that the Aramaism ן״ך (vs. 1) necessitates a late date is countered by evidence of the use of a derivative of the root ן״ך in Ps. 55:15. It has been argued above that the root of ן״ך״ך in vs. 9 is not ן״ך but ן״ך״ך. Moreover, the whole question of using Aramaisms as an indication for a late date is now being questioned in some quarters.<sup>159</sup>

Working backwards, objections to the acrostic are as follows: 1) the ך at the end of the acrostic is missing in M.T. text, 2) the preposition ך should be repeated before ן״ך״ך, 3) the use of X to indicate "the First" is unlikely since it does not occur on coins and there was no "Second" in sight and 4) the use of ך״ך alone to designate Alexander Jannaeus is inadequate. Lindars' judgment that "once the acrostic has been dismissed as untenable, there seems no compelling reason to deny that the psalm belongs to the time of the monarchy" is justified.<sup>160</sup>

Concerning the dating of the Royal Psalms in general, Rowley

has commented that the pendulum of scholarly opinion has now swung away from late dates for the psalms (Wellhausen, Duhm, Gray) to much earlier dates.<sup>161</sup> Today the Royal Psalms are usually held to be pre-exilic. Indeed, Dahood declares that the "genuinely archaic flavor of the language" of Ps. 2 "suggests a very early date (probably tenth century)."<sup>162</sup> Thus it is reasonable to conclude that this psalm is pre-exilic and was composed in reference to the coronation of a davidic king(s).

#### IV. The Messianic Nature of Psalm Two

##### A. Introduction

The question of the messianic nature of Ps. 2, and indeed of all the Royal Psalms, is a much debated and highly complex problem. Any attempt to deal with all of the factors involved in the messianic question in order to give a fully developed solution to the messianic nature of the second psalm would necessitate a study far too broad to be undertaken here. The recent study by J. Coppens, Le messianisme royal (1968), sets forth the many problems in the area and contains an extensive bibliography.<sup>163</sup> In this brief survey, first, the basic terms "Messiah" and "eschatology" will be defined, and then the three general positions that are held in reference to the messianic nature of Ps. 2 will be stated.

##### B. Definition of Terms: Messiah and Eschatology

Barr has pointedly observed that, "In general, the discussion about the sense of the term [Messiah] has been so varied and so indecisive in recent years that it seems we cannot any longer take any sense for granted as axiomatic or as justified by tradition."<sup>164</sup> Generally speaking, the term has been defined in three ways. First, there is the definition of Mowinkel: "In later Judaism the term 'Messiah' denotes an eschatological figure. He belongs to 'the last time'; his advent lies in the future. To use the word 'Messiah' is to imply eschatology, the last things. It is, therefore, a misuse of the words 'Messiah' or 'Messianic' to apply them, for instance, to those ideas which were associated in Israel or in the ancient east with kings who were actually reigning...."<sup>165</sup> The key to this definition is the linking of "Messiah" to "eschatology". At the other end of the spectrum is Barr who uses "anointed one" and



"Messiah" interchangeably so that every king is a "Messiah".<sup>166</sup> In Barr's definition the eschatological reference is omitted. G.W. Anderson has mapped out a third view that avoids both of these extremes: "But in view of the normal associations of the words 'Messiah' and 'messianic', it can only make for confusion if they are used in any other than a future sense. To confine them to a strictly eschatological sense would involve ruling out their connection with certain familiar O.T. passages to which they are justly applied."<sup>167</sup> As can be seen by these three representative positions, the definition of 'Messiah' actually determines one's view of the messianic nature of the Royal Psalms. The third position is the one followed in this paper. Hence, a person can be called a "Messiah" if he is anointed and in some way related to the future hope of Israel (not eschatological hope as defined by Mowinckel).<sup>168</sup>

The second term that calls for attention is the word 'eschatology'. Jenni has insisted that in order to avoid misconceptions in O.T. research it must be realized that the word is used in two distinct ways. First, there is the narrow sense used by Mowinckel in which eschatology proper is only found in post-exilic Judaism and designates the end of the world, a full stop, an abrupt cleavage between this world and the transcendental world of God. On the other hand, the broader sense refers to a future in which the circumstances of history are changed to such an extent that one can speak of a new, entirely different state of things without leaving the framework of history.<sup>169</sup> Thus defined, the eschatology of the O.T. is not concerned with the end of the world but with that decisive act of God which will bring to an end the existing order of things in the world and inaugurate a new era of blessing.<sup>170</sup> The latter definition is followed in this study.

### C. Three Views of the Messianic Nature of Ps. 2

In general there are three positions that are held concerning the messianic nature of Ps. 2. First, there is the view held by Hengstenberg,<sup>171</sup> Alexander,<sup>172</sup> Briggs<sup>173</sup> and more recently by Dahl,<sup>174</sup> Press,<sup>175</sup> Robert<sup>176</sup> and de Fraine<sup>177</sup> (not to mention the pre-modern authors)<sup>178</sup> that the psalm is a direct prophecy of the Messiah and has no reference to a contemporary historical king. These scholars usually argue that the following particulars are only appropriate for the future Messiah: 1) the description of the king as the "Son" of Yahweh, 2) the close association of Yahweh and his anointed, 3) the universal scope of the king's dominion, 4) the "Son's" right to inherit the gentiles and then to smash them with an iron rod, 5) the admonition to "kiss the Son" as an act of worship and 6) the N.T.'s use of the psalm. While there is credibility in several of these particulars (especially 3, 4), yet it must be objected that II Samuel 7 on which Ps. 2 is built certainly has a contemporary king in view (II Sam. 7:14b), that Chronicles applies the promise of II Sam. 7:14f to Solomon (I Chr. 17:12, 22:9-10, 28:6-7, cf. I Kings 2:4), that other Royal Psalms which are related to II Sam. 7 and to Ps. 2 refer to a historical king (Ps. 89:26, 29-32; 72:15b) and that it is not a proper procedure to determine the meaning of an O.T. passage by reading its N.T. use into the O.T. This position while taking into account many important particulars does not provide a satisfactory explanation for all of the factors involved.

The second position, which is in direct contrast to the first, emphasizes that the Royal Psalms and in particular Ps. 2 refer only to the contemporary historical king. Mowinckel is probably the best known member of this group.<sup>179</sup> It follows from his definition of Messiah and eschatology that it is impossible for Ps. 2

to refer to a future Messiah. Also the universal dominion of the king that so impresses the members of the first position is simply written off as Hofstil (see the previous discussion under vss. 1, 2). Furthermore, those who adhere to this position<sup>180</sup> often have been influenced by Gunkel who emphasizes the Gattung of the psalms. It is maintained that if a psalm is a Royal Psalm, then it can only refer to a then present historical king. But Mowinckel's definitions of Messiah and eschatology, the matter of Hofstil and the function of a psalm Gattung have all been challenged.

Mowinckel has so defined the term Messiah as to exclude a priori any reference to him in the Royal Psalms. His definition of Messiah (and eschatology) has already been stated and rejected. The difficulty with dismissing the extravagant language of the Royal Psalms as merely Hofstil is that even if one accepts the influence of Hofstil (see above on vss. 1, 2), nevertheless, it must be understood and interpreted in the context of Yahwism. In such a context the language is more than mere flattery, and thus it must be taken seriously. McKenzie is much nearer the truth of the situation when he writes that, "We cannot deny certain literary similarities between the formulae addressed to the Hebrew king and the court formulae of Mesopotamia. At the same time, the employment of these formulae in Israel indicates a basis of belief which we cannot find in Mesopotamian literature. If we can find other factors in Hebrew belief which furnish a basis for Hofstil, it is these factors which lie at the roots of messianism and not mere literary forms."<sup>181</sup> McKenzie finds these other factors in the Sinai covenant and the kingship of Yahweh. So the king's universal rule is predicated upon his close association with Yahweh. Hence, the grand language of Ps. 2, as well as that of the other Royal Psalms, is not adequately accounted for by this second position. Finally, it must be objected

that simply to classify a psalm as a Royal Psalm does not in itself exclude the possibility of a psalm having a reference to a future king. It is true that some who hold this view speak of a "re-reading" of the Royal Psalms in the light of later developments, but this does not explain the problem of the extravagant language of these psalms. Those who hold this second position cannot maintain a real continuity between the reference to the historical king and some later eisegesis which discovers a reference to a future king.

The third view contends that Ps. 2, and the other Royal Psalms, originally referred both to the historical king and to a future king — thus maintaining a continuity of reference. Among those who adhere to this kind of double application (not interpretation) of the Royal Psalms are Rowley,<sup>182</sup> McKenzie,<sup>183</sup> Weiser,<sup>184</sup> Johnson,<sup>185</sup> von Rad,<sup>186</sup> Perowne,<sup>187</sup> de Vaux<sup>188</sup> and Obersteiner.<sup>189</sup> With characteristic balance, Rowley asserts that, "The royal Psalms, which have been traditionally given a messianic interpretation, are now brought into association with the reigning king, and held to set before him for his example the concept of the ideal king....These psalms, therefore, are given both a present and a future reference, a present reference as an example and a future reference as a promise of the day when the ideal will be realized."<sup>190</sup>

There is some difference of opinion as to how this continuity between the historical king and the future king is to be explained. One position, already seen in the assertion of Rowley, posits that the present king of the psalm is described in ideal language that only the future king will fulfil. Some who hold that the king is depicted in ideal language also emphasize that in each successive davidic king there is a partial fulfillment of the promise of II Sam. 7:14.<sup>191</sup> While this is true for II Sam. 7:14, it is difficult to

see how each davidic king is a partial fulfillment of Ps. 2. Not one of them exercised universal dominion over the nations.

The other major view can be designated by the term typological. In the recent revival of interest in typology,<sup>192</sup> definitions of this term vary widely. In this study a type is defined thus: it is an event, series of circumstances or an aspect of the life of an individual or a nation which finds a parallel and deeper realization in the incarnate life of Christ, in his provision for the needs of men or in his judgments and future reign.<sup>193</sup> It is not predictive and typology is not a method of exegesis. Thus when Calvin speaks of Ps. 2 as a type of the Messiah, he does not really hold the typological view as it has been defined here because he believes that this type is truly predictive.<sup>194</sup>

After an extensive survey of work done on the Royal Psalms, Nogosek attempts to solve the problem of the present and future application of these psalms by labelling them as "teliotype" which means that the Royal Psalms "represent the eschatological concretization of the ideal of kingship in Israel."<sup>195</sup>

#### D. Conclusion

The most adequate view is the one which holds that the Royal Psalms apply both to a present historical king and to a future king, Messiah. The best explanation of this double application is given by those who assert that the Royal Psalms depict the king in ideal language. Ps. 2 was held before the present historical king an example of the ideal king, and at the same time it was a promise of the day when the ideal would be realized. Hence, there is a continuity between its application to the historical king and its application to the future king. It is this application to the future king that forms the theme of the chapters to follow.



## Footnotes to Chapter I

1. D.M. Hay, Glory at the Right Hand: Psalm 110 in Early Christianity (Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series 18, Abingdon, New York, 1973), pp. 19-21.
2. C.H. Dodd, According to The Scripture: The Sub-structure of New Testament Theology. (London: James Nisbet and Co., 1952).
3. cf. R.N. Longenecker, "Can We Reproduce The Exegesis of the New Testament?", Tyn.B. 21 (1970), 1-38.
4. H.H. Rowley, "The Text and Structure of Psalm II", J.Th.S. 62 (1941), 143.
5. See Rowley's extensive survey of positions. pp. 143-146.
6. Rowley, p. 153.
7. G.D. Young, "Ugaritic Prosody", J.N.E.S. 9 (1952), 132. It will be seen below that most of the conjectural emendations in Ps. 2 are based on metri causa. B. Lindars has observed that "in Ps. 2...the metrical structure is irregular, whereas the thought runs on with a clear progression, and the agitated style suggests a spontaneity which is the antithesis of conventionalism." "Is Psalm II an Acrostic Poem?", V.T. 17 (1967), 63.
8. H.-J. Kraus Psalmen (Biblischer Kommentar Altes Testament, 15/16, 2 vols., Neukirchen, Neukirchener Verlag, 1961), I, 13. K.R. Crim is in agreement with Kraus. "In attempting to reconstruct the way the psalm was recited in ancient times, it is not necessary to assign the various strophes to different speakers, for they are all appropriate in the mouth of the King." The Royal Psalms (Richmond, Va.: John Knox Press, 1962), p. 72.
9. The use of  $\psi\lambda\lambda$  in Ps. 55:15 and of  $\pi\psi\lambda\lambda$  in Ps. 64:3 respectively favour consenting together and raging.
10. M. Dahood, Psalms (Anchor Bible 3 vols., New York, Doubleday, 1966-1972), I, 7; C.A. Briggs and E.G. Briggs, The Book of Psalms (I.C.C., 2 vols., Edinburgh, T. and T. Clark, 1906), I, 17, 18.
11. "Then these presidents came by agreement ( $\gamma\psi\lambda\lambda\pi$ ) to the king" (vs. 6, R.S.V.). In this context there is even some doubt as to the exact sense of  $\psi\lambda\lambda$ . B.D.B. offers the translation "come thronging". p. 1112.
12. Cowley, Aramaic Papyri (1923), p. 213 as cited by Rowley, p. 146f.
13. W.H. Brownlee, "Psalms 1-2 as Coronation Liturgy", Biblica 52 (1971), 323, n. 3. 1QH 2:12, 13a: "And against me the band of the wicked doth rage [ $\gamma\psi\lambda\lambda\pi$ ] and they roar as the gales of the seas; when their billows are raging, mire, and mud so they cast up." 1QH 3:15, 16: "When the depths seethe over the springs of the waters they [shall] rage unto the heights of the waves and the breakers of the waters by the roar of their voice. And when they do rage, they shall open (the) ga[tes of] ... the arrows of the pit." From M. Mansoor, The Thanksgiving Hymns (S.T.D.J., Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1961), III, 106, 115.

14.  $\phi\rho\nu\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\omega$  according to Bauer is only used in the active in Ps. 2:1 and Acts 4:25 which is a quotation of Ps. 2:1. p. 875. L. & S. cite an instance of the active voice in Cyranides, but the text has not been obtainable. p. 1958.  $\phi\rho\nu\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$  means to snort or figuratively of men to be arrogant, haughty, insolent.
15. Briggs, I, 17, 18.
16. Dahood, I, 7.
17.  $\text{לְיָדָיו לְחַיִּים בְּרִיִּים}$ , "then he led forth his trained men." Dahood's other parallels (Ps. 35:3, Judges 11:3) may have some merit, but his translation of  $\text{בְּרִיִּים}$  in Judges 9:4 as "enlisted men" seems forced in the light of the parallel adjective  $\text{בְּרִיִּים}$  which in B.H. is only translated "reckless".
18. Prophetæ Chaldaice (1872), p. xvi cited by Rowley, p. 147.
19. Rowley, p. 147.
20. The LXX ( $\text{παρέστησαν}$ ) certainly read  $\text{לִבְיָדָיו}$ . Bauer translates  $\text{παρέστησαν}$  as "appearing with hostile intent". p. 633b. Symmachus ( $\text{συνίστανται}$ ) might favour the conjecture, but this is inconclusive.
21. Kraus, Psalmen, I, 11.
22. Dahood, I, 8.
23. p. 414, cf. p. 691.
24. p. 386.
25. Qal is "to establish, found or fix".
26. Rowley, p. 147.
27.  $\text{לֵבָבָם יַחְדָּם יִשְׁתַּחֲוּּ לִי}$ , LXX  $\text{ἐν τῷ ἐπισυναχθῆναι αὐτοὺς ἅμα ἐπ' ἐμὲ}$  Symmachus  $\text{συνέκλιπονταί μοι ἅμα ἐπ' ἐμὲ}$  Aquila  $\text{ἐπαρρησάσαντο μοι ἅμα ἐπ' ἐμὲ}$ . K.B.L. (p. 386) and B.D.B. (p. 414) translate it "come together against me". But the R.S.V. renders it "scheme together against me".
28.  $\text{לִבְיָדָיו לְחַיִּים בְּרִיִּים}$  (LXX  $\text{ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ}$ ) is usually translated "together", but S. Talmon has suggested that  $\text{לִבְיָדָיו לְחַיִּים בְּרִיִּים}$  in Ps. 2 should be translated "the kings of the earth present themselves (in council) and the rulers (of peoples) combine together in a covenant against God and his anointed." "The Sectarian  $\text{לִבְיָדָיו}$  — A Biblical Noun", V.T. 3 (1953), 136. The basis of this translation is that  $\text{לִבְיָדָיו}$  in the Qumran material is used as a noun to mean "community". Even more to the point is the parallel from 1QH 3:21, 22 ( $\text{לִבְיָדָיו לְחַיִּים בְּרִיִּים יִשְׁתַּחֲוּּ לִי}$   $\text{לִבְיָדָיו לְחַיִּים בְּרִיִּים יִשְׁתַּחֲוּּ לִי}$ ) which Talmon translates as follows: "So that he might present himself in parade with the hosts of Saints and that he might enter into communion with the congregation of

## 28. (Contd.)

- heavenly spirits (lit. the Sons of Heaven)." p. 137. Here there is "a striking parallel passage based on the equivalence of  $\text{לִשְׁמִינִי}$  and  $\text{לִפְנֵי יְיָ}$ , instead of  $\text{לִפְנֵי יְיָ}$ ." p. 137. This hypothesis is attractive. The translation of  $\text{לִפְנֵי יְיָ}$  as "combine in a covenant" makes sense in the context of Ps. 2, but one hesitates to adopt this translation because of the omission of the preposition  $\text{לִ}$  before  $\text{לִפְנֵי}$  in Ps. 2. It should be noted that in 1QH 3:22 the construction is  $\text{לִפְנֵי לִ}$  (cf.  $\text{לִפְנֵי}$  in I Chr. 12:18 cited by Talmon, p. 136).
29. The R.S.V. omits the second  $\text{κατά}$ .
30. I. Sonne, "The Second Psalm", H.U.C.A. 19 (1945-46), 45. Note should be taken of Sonne's negative methodology. pp. 43-45.
31. Kraus, Psalmen, I, 13. On the basis of meter, he also deletes parts of vss. 7, 8, 12; but then he restores vss. 7, 12 on other grounds. This inconsistency points to the weakness of emendation on metrical grounds alone.
32. Rowley, p. 147; cf. Dahood, I, 8; Briggs, I, 19.
33. Sonne, p. 45. In his third footnote he argues that Jer. 27:21 provides a reference to "kings of the land of the Philistines", but this is an error.
34. M. Treves, "Two Ascroptic Psalms", V.T. 15 (1965), 85.
35. In this category should also be placed Lamentations 4:12 ("The kings of the earth did not believe, or any of the inhabitants of the world") and I Kings 10:23, 24 ("Thus King Solomon excelled all the kings of the earth in riches and in wisdom. And the whole earth sought the presence of Solomon to hear his wisdom", cf. II Chr. 9:22, 23). cf. Briggs, I, 19.
36. See H. Gressman, Der Messias (1929) as cited by Press, "Jahwe und sein Gesalbter. Zur Auslegung von Ps. 2", Th.Z. 13 (1957) 323; cf. W.O.E. Oesterley, The Psalms (2 vols., London, S.P.C.K., 1939), I, 124.
37. G. von Rad, Old Testament Theology, trans. D.M.G. Stalker (2 vols., Edinburgh, Oliver and Boyd, 1965), I, 320, 321.
38. R. de Vaux, Ancient Israel: Its Life and Institutions, trans. J. McHugh (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1961), p. 109.
39. A. Weiser, The Psalms, trans. H. Hartwell (Old Testament Library, London, S.C.M., 1962), p. 110.
40. S. Mowinckel, The Psalm in Israel's Worship, trans. D.R. Ap-Thomas (2 vols., Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1962), I, 55.



41. H.-J. Kraus, Worship in Israel: A Cultic History of The Old Testament, trans. G. Buswell (Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1966), p. 181. See also J.L. McKenzie, "Royal Messianism", C.B.Q. 19 (1957), who writes that, "Whether we understand it as Hofstil or as hyperbole, the words of the text actually look beyond Palestine and even beyond the empire of David proper to the world as the Hebrews knew it; the Davidic kingdom here has become coextensive with the kingdom of Yahweh Himself." p. 33.
42. Crim, pp. 72, 73.
43. H.H. Rowley, Worship in Ancient Israel: Its Form and Meaning (London: S.P.C.K., 1967), p. 184.
44. Kraus, Worship in Israel, p. 181.
45. Rowley, Worship in Ancient Israel, p. 184.
46. Press thinks that the transferring of an oriental concept into Israel to gain this universal scope would be "bizzar und anmassend". p. 323.
47. A. Bentzen has set forth the view that the psalm is linked with the New Year Festival in which there is a re-enactment of creation. In this re-enacted cult drama, the "nations" and "kings of the earth" are viewed as "historifications" of the demonic powers of Chaos which symbolize the mythic fight between God and the nations. King and Messiah, trans. G.W. Anderson (rev. ed., Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1970), pp. 16, 17. This position has not met with wide approval. Press's criticisms are to the point: "Der Psalm spricht jedoch nicht von einem urzeitlichen Kampf des Gotteskönigs mit den Chaosmächten, sondern von einem solchen des Zionskönigs mit den Erdenkönigen." p. 324. For Press the psalm does not point "rückwärts auf die Urzeit, sondern vorwärts auf die Endzeit." p. 325.
48. Crim, pp. 72, 73. The promise to David in II Sam. 7 is concerned with the unending succession of his dynasty and not the universal scope of his kingdom. This universal scope is a new factor found in Pss. 2, 72, 89.
49. Kraus, Psalmen, I, 15.
50. O. Schilling, "'...wider Gott und seinen Gesalbten'. Davidssohn-Gottessohn-Heilsbringer: Auslegung von Ps. 2." Bi. Le. 2 (1961), 265, 266.
51. McKenzie, pp. 47, 48.
52. Kraus, Psalmen, I, 15.
53. Dahood, I, 10, 11. Others such as E.J. Kissane simply emend the M.T. so that the suffix of king and holy is third person rather than first. The Book of Psalms (one vol. ed., Dublin, Browne and Nolan, 1964), p. 8. cf. Rowley, "The Text and Structure of Psalm II", for an account of older commentators who hold this view. pp. 148, 149. Ps. 2:6, 7 in 3Q2 (D.J.D. III, 94) should be noted. J.A. Sanders reports that J. van du Ploeg is the

## 53. (Contd.)

- editor of 11QPs b, c. 11QPs b contains a fragment that gives the text of Ps. 2:1-6. This text has yet to be published. "Pre-Masoretic Psalter Texts", C.B.Q. 27 (1965), 119.
54. p. 651b.
55. p. 620.
56. F. Delitzsch, The Psalms, trans. David Eaton (3 vols., London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1887), I, 122, 123, see esp. 122, n. 1.
57. E.W. Hengstenberg, The Psalms, trans. P. Fairbairn and J. Thomson (3 vols., 3rd ed., Edinburgh, T. and T. Clark, 1861), I, 27.
58. Rowley, "The Text and Structure of Psalm II", p. 149.
59. Delitzsch, I, 122, 123.
60. Hengstenberg, I, 27.
61. Briggs disregards this distinction. I, 20.
62. Dahood, I, 10; cf. Sonne, p. 49.
63. H.L. Ginsberg in Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament ed. J.B. Pritchard (2nd ed., Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press, 1956), p. 136c.
64. G.R. Driver, Canannite Myths and Legends (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1956), p. 89b.
65. B.D.B., p. 651.
66. Sonne, p. 49.
67. H. Gunkel, Die Psalmen (Handkommentar zum Alten Testament, 4th ed., Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1926), p. 5.
68. A.R. Johnson ("The Role of the King in the Jerusalem Cultus", The Labyrinth, ed. S.H. Hooke (London: S.P.C.K., 1935), pp. 108, 109) and C.R. North ("The Religious Aspect of Hebrew Kingship", Z.A.W. 9 (1932) 26, 27) follow this reconstruction, but they do not delete "you are my son". Hence they read, "Lo, I have set up my king upon Zion, my sacred mountain. I have taken him to my bosom and said to him: 'Thou art my son; this day have I fathered Thee'."
69. B.D.B., p. 708.
70. G. Cooke, "The Israelite King as Son of God", Z.A.W. 73 (1961), 207.
71. Briggs, I, 21. cf. Rowley, "The Text and Structure of Psalm II", p. 150.

72. B.D.B., p. 40, section 6, 7; K.B.L. p. 708, section 7; G.H. Jones, "The Decree of Yahweh (Ps. 2:7)", V.T. 15 (1965), 336, 337.
73. G. von Rad, "The Royal Ritual in Judea", The Problem of the Hexateuch and Other Essays, trans. E.W.T. Dicken (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1966), p. 226. Originally published as "Das judaische Königsritual", Th.L.Z. 72 (1947), col. 211-216; also in his Gesammelte Studien (1958), pp. 205ff.
74. See Rowley, "The Text and Structure of Psalm II", pp. 149, 150.
75. B.D.B., p. 349.
76. The English translation is cited here. "The Royal Ritual in Judea", p. 225, see n. 73.
77. Mowinckel, He That Cometh, trans. G.W. Anderson: (Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1959), p. 64; Cooke, p. 213; Crim, p. 42; Kraus Psalmen, I, 18; Dahood, I, 11; P.E. Bonnard, "Trois lectures du Psaume 2", B.V.C. 53 (1963), 40; cf. N. Poulssen, König und Tempel im Glaubenszeugnis des Alten Testaments (S.B.M. 3, Stuttgart, Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1967), p. 57, n. 82; W. Schlisske, Gottesöhne und Gottessohn im Alten Testament (B.W.A.N.T. 5, Stuttgart, W. Kohlhammer, 1973), p. 89, n. 2.
78. It is unnecessary to read לִטְוָה (bracelets) as some do. K.-H. Bernhardt still upholds this emendation. Das Problem der altorientalischen Königsideologie im Alten Testament (Supp. to V.T. 8, Leiden, E.J. Brill), p. 251. But R. de Vaux, who at one time favored this emendation, has reversed his position. The Bible and the Ancient Near East, trans. D. McHugh (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1972), p. 161. A.R. Johnson also retains the M.T. Sacral Kingship in Ancient Israel (2nd ed., Cardiff, University of Wales Press, 1967), p. 24, n. 4. cf. Z.W. Falk, "Form of Testimony", V.T. 11 (1961), 88-91.
79. As to the exact nature of the לִטְוָה that was given to the king in II Kings 11:12 there is a division of opinion. G. Widengren argues that the לִטְוָה given to Jehoash when he was proclaimed king was the Mosaic "tablets of law". "King and Covenant", J.S.S. 2 (1957), 6. cf. G. Widengren Sakrales Königtum im Alten Testament und im Judentum (Stuttgart, 1955), pp. 29, 94. Johnson speaks of לִטְוָה in II Kings 11:12 as the "conditions" whereby each successive king "will be entitled to wear the crown". Sacral Kingship in Ancient Israel, p. 23. De Vaux, who is in basic agreement with Johnson, speaks of "a document which contains or recalls the treaty which binds him to Yahweh." Bible and Ancient Near East, p. 161. H.G. May after declaring that "the identification of this is most difficult" ventures the idea that it was "some material symbol of a covenant". "Zechariah's Vision", J.B.L. 57 (1938), 181. Mowinckel in He That Cometh defines the לִטְוָה as that "which contained his divine appointment and the ground of his royal prerogative." p. 64.

80. Von Rad's own statement is that, "The decree ( $\text{p}\pi$ ) is to be understood as the royal protocol, and in this passage is the direct equivalent of the 'testimony' ( $\text{h}\text{t}\text{t}\text{u}$ ) which we have met in II Kings 11:12." "The Royal Ritual in Judea", p. 226.
81. Von Rad, "Royal Ritual in Judea", p. 225.
82. Von Rad, "Royal Ritual in Judea", p. 226.
83. K.A. Kitchen, Ancient Orient and Old Testament (Chicago: Inter-Varsity Press, 1966), p. 107. For a brief interaction with Kitchen see B. Volkwein, "Masoretisches 'ēdūt, 'edwōt, 'ēdōt — 'Zeugnis' oder 'Bundesbestimmungen'?", B.Z. 13 (1969), 29, 30; J.A. Soggin, "Zum zweiten Psalm", Wort-Gebot-Glaube: Walter Eichrodt zum 80. Geburtstag, ed. H.J. Stoebe (Zurich: Zwingli, 1970), p. 194, n. 12.
84. H.W. Fairman and B. Grdseloff, "Texts of Hatshepsut and Sethos I inside Speos Artemidos", Journal of Egyptian Archaeology 33 (1947), 15.
85. For further documentation see Kitchen, p. 107, n. 79, 80.
86. Kitchen, p. 107.
87. G.H. Jones has dissented from von Rad's view but for a different reason. He argues that  $\text{p}\pi$  involves both declaration and demand. "To identify  $\text{p}\pi$  with the Egyptian protocol is to deprive the word of its essential and characteristic connotation — i.e., it becomes a mere declaration, without any reference to God's demands." "The Decree of Yahweh in Ps. II:7", V.T. 15 (1965), 341.
88. This has been recognised by others. For example, von Rad, "Royal Ritual in Judah", p. 228; Jones, p. 337f; Press, p. 325f.
89. Whether Ps. 89 is dependent on II Sam. 7 or vice versa makes no difference to this point.
90. Press concludes that, "Jedenfalls ist durch das Wort  $\text{p}\pi$  der Bezug von Ps. 2 auf 2 Sam. 7 sichergestellt." pp. 325, 326; Kirkpatrick speaks of the  $\text{p}\pi$  as, "The solemn and authoritative edict, promulgated in the promise made to David and his house through Nathan." I, 10; Briggs clearly asserts that, "The Psalm in this decree is thinking of the covenant which Yahweh made with David through Nathan the prophet, constituting David and his seed an everlasting dynasty." I, 15; Poulssen says that, "Man bringt sogar meist das 'Dekret' ( $\text{p}\pi$ ) von Ps. 2, 7 mit dem in der Nathanweissagung (2 Sam. 7) gegebenen 'Bund' ( $\text{h}\text{t}\text{t}\text{u}$ ) Davids in Verbindung (vgl. 2 Sm. 23, 5)." p. 57; A. Robert speaking of II Sam. 7 states that, "Telle est, dans sa première formulation et dans son sens authentique, le hōq sur lequel le monarque de notre Psaume entreprend de s'expliquer." "Considérations sur le messianisme du Ps. II." R.S.R. 39 (1951), 94. De Vaux in Ancient Israel relates to II Sam. 7. p. 109; J. Coppens holds that, "Les affirmation



## 90. (Contd.)

du Ps. 2 dépassent de loin ce que la prophétie de Nathan exprima touchant les relations qui existeraient à l'avenir entre Yahvé et le fils de David." Le messianisme royal: ses origines, son développement, son accomplissement (Lectio Divina 54, Paris, Cerf, 1968), p. 56. See his very extensive bibliography on II Sam. 7 pp. 39, 49, 204. cf. J. Coppens, "L'oracle dynastique de 2 Sam. 7", S.B.Esp. 26 (1969) 185-200; Schilling not only connects Ps. 2:7 with a covenant in II Sam. 7 but also traces the "covenant" back through Sinai to Abraham. p. 263; McKenzie, pp. 31ff; G. Hartmut, "Der Davidsbund und die Zionserwählung", Z.Th.K. 61 (1964), 18; R.E. Murphy, "Psalms" J.B.C., p. 574; Schlisske, p. 91. Many others could be added to this list. The fact that some reject II Sam. 7:13-16 as part of the original tradition is not important for this consideration. (For recent discussion of this issue see M. Tsevat, "The Steadfast House: What was David Promised in II Sam. 7:11b-16?" H.U.C.A. 34 (1963) 71ff; R.A. Carlson views vs. 14 as a later addition by the so-called "D-Group". David, The Chosen King: A Traditio-Historical Approach to the Second Book of Samuel, trans. E.J. Sharpe and S. Rudman (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1964), pp. 124, 125, n. 2.) In whatever way it was arrived at, the end product as now recorded in II Sam. 7 is the key for the link to Ps. 2. (cf. D.J. McCarthy, "II Sam. 7 and the Structure of the Deuteronomic History", J.B.L. 84 (1965), 131f.)

91. I. Engnell, in connection with the father-son motif in the northwest Semitic area, notes that, "The best proofs of the king as son of the god are given in the O.T., the most important of them being, of course, Ps. 2:7." Then he adds that "not only is the king son of the god, he is actually identical with the god...." Studies in Divine Kingship in the Ancient Near East, trans. author (2nd ed., Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1967), p. 80, cf. p. 175f.
92. G. Widengren, Religion och Bibel (1943), Psalm 110 och det sakrala kungadömet i Israel (1941) and Sakrales Königtum im Alten Testament und im Judentum (1955) cited by Rowley, Worship in Ancient Israel, p. 187, n. 6. Apparently J. Pedersen also belongs in this category. He speaks of the Israelites taking over the "ideal of a deified king" in connection with the universal rule in Ps. 2. Israel: Its Life and Culture, trans. A.I. Fausbøll (2 vols., London, Oxford Press, 1940), II, 431.
93. Bernhardt, see chs. 8 and 9 for his thorough critique. For a survey of the Patternists school of thought see chs. 3 and 4. See also Bernhardt's exhaustive bibliography which lists over 300 words in the area from 1888-1961, pp. 305-324. Kraus having observed that "the tribal confederacy had no connections with the basis of cultic myth on which the institution of kingship customarily rested in Canaan" forcefully asserts that "it is almost incredible to see how certain scholars have ignored these historical facts and introduced into Israel the idea of a sacral and mythical kingship, in complete disregard of the O.T. traditions." Worship in Israel, p. 180. See also

## 93. (Contd.)

- J. de Fraine, L'aspect religieux de la royauté Israélite: L'institution monarchique dans L'Ancient Testament et dans les text mésopotamiens (An. Bib. 3, Rome, Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1954), pp. 263-284, esp. pp. 263-267. J. de Fraine, "Quel est sens exact de la filiation dans Ps. 2.7?" Bijdragen 16 (1955), 349-356; F. Zbik, De Sensu filiationes divinae in Ps. 2, (Unpublished dissertation of Gregoriana, Rome, 1951). Unfortunately, the writer has been unable to consult this work.
94. De Vaux Ancient Israel, p. 112.
95. Cooke, p. 208. cf. also the works cited by Bernhardt, p. 57, n. 1.
96. Dahood, I, 12; Kitchen, p. 106, n. 76.
97. Cooke, p. 209. cf. the unusual eschatological interpretation given to "today" by Press, p. 332.
98. Von Rad, Old Testament Theology, I, 309.
99. J. de Fraine recently has written that, "Hard pressed by some recent criticisms, the 'patternists' are drawn more and more to concede that the epithet 'divine' must be toned down, and it would be better to speak of 'sacral' kingship." E.B.T., II, 471.
100. The following speak of a formula of adoption. de Vaux, Ancient Israel, p. 112; Cooke, pp. 214ff; Briggs, I, 15, 16; Kirkpatrick, I, 10; Dahood, I, 11, 12; von Rad, Old Testament Theology I, 320; M. Noth, "God, King and Nation", The Laws in the Pentateuch and Other Studies, trans. D.R. Ap-Thomas (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1966), p. 172; S.M. Polan, "Adoption", N.C.E., I, 136; Kraus, Psalmen, I, 18; Weiser, p. 113; Johnson, Labyrith, p. 79; H. Schmidt, Die Psalmen (H.A.T. 15, Tübingen, J.C.B. Mohr, 1934), p. 5; Mowinckel, The Psalms in Israel's Worship, I, 50-54 and He That Cometh, p. 37; Gunkel, p. 7; A. Anderson, The Book of Psalms (N.Ce.B., 2 vols., London, Oliphants, 1972), I, 67.
101. C.F.D. Moule, "Adoption", I.D.B. I, 48.
102. H. Donner, "Adoption oder Legitimation? Erwägungen zur Adoption im Alten Testament auf dem Hintergrund der altorientalischen Rechte", Or. Ant. 8 (1969), 87-119, esp. 114. For a brief response to Donner see H.J. Boecker, "Anmerkungen zur Adoption im Alten Testament", Z.A.W. 86 (1974), 86-89.
103. Donner, pp. 87, 88 and 104ff. Cooke tries to distinguish between the idea of adoption and practice of adoption in the O.T. He admits that he can only find hints of the practice of adoption (p. 214), but he cites Ex. 4:22, 23; Hosea 11:1 as examples of the idea of adoption. p. 217. S. Feigin's attempt to find adoption in Judges 11:1-3 is not successful. "Some Cases of Adoption in Israel", J.B.L. 50 (1931), 186-200.

104. Schilling, p. 269f; de Vaux, Ancient Israel, p. 112; Mowinckel, The Psalms in Israel's Worship, I, 54; Anderson, I, 67; cf. Cooke, p. 215; Soggin, p. 194, n. 13; Schmidt, p. 5.
105. Donner, p. 106 cf. p. 114, n. 41; cf. Fohrer, "וְיָס", T.D.N.T. VIII, 344, 351. It is, of course, true that in some of the ancient Near Eastern cultures the king was called son of god; he was a son by physical birth not adoption. Furthermore, he was divine. For the materials see de Fraine, L'aspect religieux de la royauté Israélite.
106. G.R. Driver and John C. Miles, The Babylonian Laws (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), p. 75.
107. Donner, p. 114.
108. Perhaps an adoption formula is found in the words in Papyrus 8, line 5 in The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri, ed. E.G. Kraeling (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1953), pp. 226, 227. But this papyrus is dated 416 B.C. Thus it comes after the pre-exilic Ps. 2 (see below on dating).
109. As Donner has made clear, part of the problem in this discussion is the matter of definition. What precisely is meant by "adoption" in the O.T. context? Some (see above) think in terms of the divinity of the Son, but this has been disputed. The problem of definition of terms carries over into the N.T. and the early church. In the 8th century A.D. in Spain a heresy arose "according to which Christ, in His humanity, is not the true but only the adoptive, Son of God." O.D.C.C., p. 18. On the other hand, the O.D.C.C. points out that this term (spelt adoptionism, not adoptianism) has been applied "to the heretical stream in early Greek theology which regarded Christ as a man gifted with Divine powers." p. 19. Adoptianism of the 8th century is concerned with the humanity of Christ. Adoptionism of the 2nd and 3rd centuries is concerned with the deity of Christ. The term is also used by N.T. theologians. For example F. Hahn frequently speaks of adoption. The Titles of Jesus in Christology, trans. H. Knight and G. Ogg (London: Lutterworth, 1969), pp. 107, 113, 243, 248, 283f, 294. In connection with his discussion of Son of God, he states that, "There remains preserved only the adoption as Son of God understood in the sense of an appointment to office and the bestowal of the Spirit. Yet this also stands under other stars, for everything is switched over to the bestowal of the Spirit; on this the divine sonship rests and by this the divine sonship gives proof of itself." p. 294 underlining added.
110. Of course this cannot be conclusively established. Donner, p. 114. G. Fohrer, VIII, 350, 351, cf. 344. Some speak of legitimation through adoption. Soggin, p. 98; Kraus, Psalmen, I, 19.
111. So Donner, p. 114; Schlisske, pp. 88-94; Fohrer, VIII, 351. On Mesopotamia see de Fraine, L'aspect religieux de la royauté Israélite.
112. Fohrer, VIII, 351.



113. E.W. Hengstenberg, Christology of the Old Testament, trans. R. Keith (4 vols., Alexandria, D.C., William M. Morrison, 1836), I, 78.
114. Delitzsch, I, 125; J.J.S. Perowne, Book of Psalms (2 vols., 2nd rev. ed., London, Methuen, 1931), I, 8; Anderson, I, 68.
115. See the discussion of Israel under the figure of son of God in G.A.F. Knight, A Christian Theology of the Old Testament (London: S.C.M. 1959), pp. 169-174.
116. Note the influence of II Sam. 7:14 upon I Chr. 22:10; 28:6; I Kings 8:20, 24f; Ps. 2:7; 89; 132:11; 12; Jer. 17:25; 22:4; Is. 55:3ff.
117. Von Rad aptly describes the use of II Sam. 7 in the Royal Psalms as "prophetic exegesis of the Nathan prophecy". Old Testament Theology, I, 321.
118. The most extensive of the recent studies of Ps. 89 is that of G.W. Ahlström who sums up his position on the relation of Ps. 89 to II Sam. 7 thus: "Aus unserem Kommentar folgt jedoch, dass Ps. 89 als ein sehr alter Psalm zu gelten hat, dessen Orakel offenbar stets bei der Inthronisierung des Königs erklingen ist, so dass man die Priorität von 2 Sam. 7 bezweifeln muss." Psalm 89: Eine Liturgie aus dem Ritual des leidenden Königs (Lund: C.W.K. Gleerups, 1959), p. 182, see n. 3 and 4 for a listing of positions on this question and pp. 207-226 for an extensive bibliography. See also Ahlstrom, "Solomon, the Chosen One", History of Religion 8 (1968), 93-110. For studies since 1959 see the following: J.M. Ward, "The Literary Form and Liturgical Background of Ps. LXXXIX", V.T. 11 (1961), 321-339, see esp. p. 339, n. 1 where he states that Ps. 89:20-38 is earlier than II Sam. 7; E. Lipinski, Le poème royal du Ps. 89:1-5, 20-38 C.R.B. 6, Paris, Gabalda, 1967), favors Ps. 89 as preceding II Sam. 7. Coppens holds that II Sam. 7 is earlier than Ps. 89. Le messianisme royal, pp. 39-41. cf. J.T. Milik, "Fragment d'une source du Psautier" (4Q Ps. 89)", R.B. 73 (1966), 94-104; J.B. Dumortier, "Un rituel d'introisation: Le Ps. LXXXIX: 2-38", V.T. 22 (1972), 176-196, see esp. 193-196.
119. For discussion of the relation of the Mosaic covenant to the davidic covenant see Kraus, Worship in Israel, pp. 189-200; F.C. Prussner, "The Covenant of David and the Problem of Unity in O.T. Theology", Transitions in Biblical Scholarship, ed. J.C. Rylaarsdam (Essays in Divinity 6, Chicago, University of Chicago, 1968), pp. 17-41.
120. See Ps. 2:7 ( תִּרְאֶה ) and Ps. 110:3 LXX ( ἐξ ἐγέννησά ). The pointing and translation of תִּרְאֶה in Ps. 110:3 has been a matter of considerable discussion. Cooke has summarized much of this discussion and posits that the radicals should be pointed תִּרְאֶה and the sentences rendered thus: "In holy array from the womb of the dawn go forth, as the dew I have begotten you." pp. 218-224. This is also the view of Coppens. Le messianisme royal, p. 58 and Bentzen, King and Messiah, p. 87, n. 6. On the relation of Ps. 2:7 to Ps. 110:3 see T. Lescow, "Das Geburtsmotiv in den messianischen Weissagungen," Z.A.W. 79 (1967), 172-207, esp. 182-184.

121. B. Gerhardsson has listed the major sources of documentation for this issue. He contends that, "In late Jewish times both the idea of Israel as God's son and that of the Anointed One as God's son existed side by side in the sacred texts." The Testing of God's Son: An Analysis of an Early Christian Midrash, trans. J. Toy C.B.N.T. 2, Lund, C.W.K. Gleerup, 1966), pp. 20-24.
122. Kraus, Psalmen I, 12. Rowley rejects the deletion on metrical grounds but thinks that there are other good reasons to drop the words. He does not give these reasons. "Text and Structure of Ps. II", p. 150.
123. Dahood argues that the possessive suffix has a dative notion. I, 12.
124. Brownlee, p. 336, n. 3.
125. K.H. Rengstorf, "Old and New Traces of a Formula of the Judean Royal Ritual", Nov. T. 5 (1962), 229-244, see esp. 234ff.
126. Rengstorf cites the incident where Herod Antipas says to the daughter of Herodias, "Ask of me whatsoever thou wilt, and I will give it to thee" (Mk. 6:21ff). This is supposed to imply her "adoption". cf. Dahood, I, 12.
127. Rengstorf remarks that, "The only question is whether it [Ps. 2:8] also had a firm place, too, in the ancient oriental Royal Ritual." p. 234, cf. p. 244. Rengstorf's purpose in tracing this supposed ritual is to show the influence of Ps. 2:8 upon Mt. 28:18ff.
128. W. Forester, "κληρονόμος ", T.D.N.T., III 767-776.
129. J. de Fraine, "Die Heiden in den Psalmen", Het Heilig Land 8 (1955), 51-54.
130. The same double movement of dispossessing in order to possess is characteristic of the use of  $\psi\tau$ . cf. B.D.B., p. 493.
131. "Ends of the earth" is a very common phrase and can be used to speak of people (I Sam. 2:10; Ps. 22:27\*, 67:7, 98:3, Is. 45:22, 52:10\*) or land (Deut. 33:17\*, Ps. 59:13, 72:8; Jer. 16:19\*; Zech. 9:10\*, Micah 5:4). The asterisk indicates that the phrase "ends of the earth" is found in conjunction with "nation".
132. cf. Is. 57:13 for the close relation of  $\psi\tau$  to  $\pi^3\pi]$ .
133. cf. Acts 15:16, 17.
134. Dahood, I, 13; Rowley, "Notes on the Structure of Ps. II", p. 151; Soggin, p. 151; Kraus, Psalmen, I 12; Brownlee, p. 336.

135. Kissane, p. 9.
136. Briggs, I, 12, 22.
137. cf. E. Lohmeyer, Die Offenbarung des Johannes (Handbuch zum N.T., 16, 2nd ed., Tübingen, J.C.B. Mohr, 1953), p. 29; cf. Bauer, p. 690. Further see ch. V.
138. Possibly Jer. 2:16, 6:3 use  $\pi y \gamma$  in a destructive sense.
139. G.M. Mackie, "Rod", D.B.(H.), IV, 291.
140. For the shepherd-king concept in Summeria, Babylonia, Assyria and Egypt see the bibliography by J. Jeremias, " $\pi \rho \omega \mu \eta \nu$ ", T.D.N.T., VI, 486.
141. L.E. Tooms, "Sceptre", D.B.(H.), IV, 234f.
142. A. Kleber, "Ps. 2:9 in the Light of an Ancient Ceremony", C.B.Q. 5 (1943), 63-67; cf. Kraus, Worship in Israel, p. 224, n. 100.
143. David is here indirectly called a shepherd. For the topic of David and the tradition that developed about his name see S. Amsler, David, roi et Messie: La tradition davidique dans l'Ancient Testament (Cahiers théologiques, 49, Paris, Delachaux and Niestlé, 1963).
144. See under the exegesis of Ps. 2:7 where it was shown that II Sam. 7 is a covenant.
145. A very interesting passage that also speaks of inheritance and is parallel linguistically at three points to Ps. 2:9 is Micah 7:14. "Shepherd ( $\pi y \gamma$ ) thy people with thy staff ( $\gamma \lambda \gamma \pi \gamma$ ), the flock of thy inheritance ( $\gamma \lambda \gamma \pi \gamma$ )." The shepherding in this context is constructive and done by Yahweh himself. Thus there is no direct link between Ps. 2:9 and Micah 7:14 although these striking linguistic similarities exist.
146. cf. J.G.S.S. Thomson, "The Shepherd-Ruler Concept in the O.T. and Its Application in the N.T.", S.J.Th. 8 (1955), 406-418.
147. Most of the conjectures contain the idea of worshiping or submitting. For a concise survey of positions prior to 1941 see Rowley, "The Text and Structure of Ps. II", pp. 151-153. The only new suggestion since this time is that of Dahood who reads "men of the grave" ( $\gamma \lambda \gamma \psi$ ). I, 6, 13; Brownlee, p. 336, n. 4. The R.S.V. reads "serve the Lord with fear, with trembling kiss his feet." This reading was first suggested by A. Bertholet, "Eine crux interpretum: Ps. 2:11f", Z.A.W. 28 (1908), 58, 59; cf. G.E. Closen, "Gedanken zur Textkritik von Ps. 2:11b - 12a", Biblica 21 (1940), 288-309 who also gives a history of conjectures; R. Köbert, "Zur ursprünglichen Textform von Ps. 2:11, 12", Biblica 21 (1940), 426-428; H.L. Ginsberg, "Some Emendations in Psalms", H.U.C.A. 23 (1950-51), 97-104.

148. Von Rad, "The Royal Ritual in Judea", p. 228 and "Erwägungen zu den Königpsalmen", Z.A.W. 58 (1940/41), 216; Cooke, pp. 205, 211; de Vaux, Ancient Israel, p. 102f and Bible and Ancient Near East, pp. 162, 163; Mowinckel, He That Cometh, p. 63ff and Psalms in Israel's Worship, I, 62; Schilling, p. 265; Rowley, Worship in Ancient Israel, p. 199f; Gunkel, p. 5f; H. Gunkel and J. Begrich, Einleitung in die Psalmen (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1933), p. 141ff; Press, p. 323; Soggin, p. 198; Weiser, p. 109; Briggs, I, 12; Dahood, I, 7; Lindars, pp. 60-67; Brownlee, p. 325; Murphy, pp. 574, 576; Kraus, Worship in Israel, p. 22f; cf. Bernhardt, p. 191, n. 6.
149. Gunkel and Begrich, pp. 140-171.
150. A.R. Johnson, "The Psalms", The Old Testament and Modern Study, ed. H.H. Rowley (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1951), pp. 162ff; cf. M. Haller, "Ein Jahrzehnt Psalmforschung", Th.R. 1 (1929) 377-402; O.R. Sellers, "The Status and Prospects of Research Concerning the Psalms", The Study of The Bible Today and Tomorrow, ed. H.R. Willoughby, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1947), pp. 129-143; J.J. Stamm, "Ein Vierteljahrhundert Psalmforschung", Th.R. 23 (1955) 1-68; J. Coppens, "Les études récentes sur le Psautier", Le Psautier. ses origines. ses problèmes littéraires. son influence, ed. R. de Langhe (O.B.L. 4, Louvain, Université de Louvain/Institut Orientaliste, 1962), pp. 1-71; A.S. Herbut, "Our Present Understanding of the Psalms", L.Q.H.R. 34 (1965) 25-29; D.J.A. Clines, "Psalm Research Since 1955: I The Psalms and The Cult", Tyn.B. 18 (1967) 103-126 and "Psalm Research Since 1955: II The Literary Genres", Tyn.B. 20 (1969) 105-125; A.A. Anderson, "Psalm Study between 1955 and 1969", B.Q. 29 (1969) 155-164.
151. De Vaux, Ancient Israel, pp. 102ff; cf. Mowinckel, He That Cometh, pp. 63ff and Psalms in Israel's Worship, I, 62f; Kraus, Worship in Israel, pp. 222ff.
152. See Mowinckel, Psalms in Israel's Worship, I, ch. 5; Johnson, Old Testament in Modern Study, pp. 190, 191. Johnson cites the opposition to Mowinckel by L. Paps, Das israelitische Neujahrsfest (1933) and N.H. Snaith, The Jewish New Year Festival: (1947). To this should be added the more recent work of A. Szörenyi, Psalmen und Kult im Alten Testament (Budapest: Sankt Stefans Gesellschaft, 1961).
153. Kraus, Worship in Israel, pp. 208-218.
154. Weiser, pp. 35-52.
155. Johnson, Sacral Kingship in Ancient Israel. cf. Clines, "The Psalms and the Cult", pp. 121, 122.
156. Although Briggs wishes to place the rebellion in the time of Hezekiah or Josiah, yet he confesses that dating this psalm is difficult. I, 13. Kraus contends that the language of vss. 1-3 is simply "conventional speech usage". Psalmen I, 14. Others refuse any attempt to relate the psalm to a specific coronation. Weiser, p. 109; Perowne, I, 110; W.E. Barnes, The Psalms (2 vols., London, Methuen, 1931), I, 7; cf. Poulssen, p. 56, n. 80.



157. Treves, pp. 81-90. This argument is certainly not a new one. Treves admits that R.H. Pfeiffer had already noted this "acrostic" except for the last word "and his wife". p. 83, n. 2.
158. The details of this argument would unnecessarily lengthen this section. See Lindars, 17 pp. 60-67. cf. J. Bowker, "Psalm CX", V.T. 17 (1967), 31-41 which deals with Treves treatment of that psalm. G. Sauer has briefly reviewed the arguments of Treves, Lindars and Bowker and concludes that the acrostic is very doubtful. "Die  $\alpha\kappa\rho\sigma\tau\iota\chi\acute{o}\varsigma$  Psalm II and CX", Z.D.M.G. 118 (1968), 259-264.
159. R.K. Harrison, Introduction to the Old Testament (London: Tyndale Press, 1970), pp. 983f; Kitchen, pp. 145, 146; cf. Kraus, Psalmen, I, 14; Briggs, I, 13.
160. Lindars, p. 65.
161. Rowley, Worship in Ancient Israel, pp. 176, 177.
162. Dahood, I, 7. Others who date the psalm rather early are Cooke, pp. 203-205; Kirkpatrick, I, 5; Kissane, p. 6.
163. See the accessible summary of this volume in C.B.Q. 32 (1970), 277f. For further bibliography see the extensive list in M. Rehm's, Der königliche Messias: im Licht der Immanuel-Weissagungen des Buches Jesaja (Kevelaer; Butzon und Bercher, 1968), pp. 407-430.
164. J. Barr, "Messiah", D.B.(H.) one vol. rev. p. 646.
165. Mowinckel, He That Cometh, p. 3.
166. J. Barr, p. 646.
167. G.W. Anderson, "Hebrew Religion", Old Testament in Modern Study, ed. H.H. Rowley, p. 305.
168. cf. Th.C. Vriezen, An Outline of Old Testament Theology, trans. S. Neuwen (Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1962), pp. 352ff; R.T. France, Jesus and The Old Testament (London: Tyndale Press, 1971), p. 87.
169. E. Jenni, "Eschatology", I.D.B., II, 126.
170. France, p. 84.
171. Hengstenberg, I, 19ff.
172. Alexander, pp. 12, 13.
173. Briggs, I, 12, 13; cf. his Messianic Prophecy (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1886), pp. 134-137.
174. G. Dahl, "The Messianic Expectation in The Psalter", J.B.L. 57 (1938), 1-12.

175. Press, p. 325.
176. Robert, p. 96.
177. De Fraine, L'aspect religieux de la royauté Israélite, pp. 275, 276.
178. For reference to Reformation and post-Reformation comment and bibliography on the Royal Psalms see L. Reinke, Die messianischen Psalmen (Giessen: Emil Roth, 1857), esp. pp. 56-107.
179. Mowinckel, He That Cometh, p. 11. In his Psalms in Israel's Worship he also emphasizes that Royal Psalms refer only to the historical king; yet he admits that, "Thus both the psalmist's and prophet's conception point beyond themselves, and are only realized in a figure of a totally different kind, in the Messiah Jesus who was both 'king' and 'son of man,' and the suffering and expiating 'servant of the Lord.' To this extent the Church is right in taking the king in the royal psalms as a presage of Jesus, the Messiah. But, historically considered, the king in the psalms is not a future figure, but a contemporary one." I, 49.
180. Oesterley, p. 125; J.M. Myers in the introduction to Crim's Royal Psalms, p. 9; Sonne, p. 45; Jenni, p. 361.
181. McKenzie, p. 47; cf. Knight, p. 301. He asserts that, "There can be no doubt about the background of thought displayed by these psalms royal. Such phrases do not express mere flattery, such as has surely been accorded to kings in all ages. They display the faith that, sinner though he undoubtedly was, the king as he sat upon the throne was a promise of something much greater than himself still to come. The king is the symbol of what the messianic line may be in the sight of God."
182. Rowley, Worship in Ancient Israel, pp. 199, 200.
183. McKenzie, pp. 32ff.
184. Weiser, pp. 115, 116.
185. Johnson, Sacral Kingship in Ancient Israel, p. 128 and "Hebrew Conception of Kingship," Myth, Ritual and Kingship, pp. 234, 235. After a change from his former view, Johnson asserts that, "If I am right about the eschatological orientation of the autumnal festival, this means that the theory of royal psalms does not preclude their sometimes being 'Messianic' in what is now the established eschatological sense of the term, and in that case the Messianic Hope, in its association with the House of David, is much earlier than is now commonly thought."
186. Von Rad, "Erwägungen zu den Königspsalmen", p. 216.
187. Perowne, pp. 110, 111.
188. De Vaux, Ancient Israel, p. 110.
189. J. Obersteiner, "Messianism", E.B.T., II, 577.
190. Rowley, Worship in Ancient Israel, pp. 199, 200; cf. de Vaux, Ancient Israel, p. 110; McKenzie, pp. 32ff; Murphy, p. 7; Crim, pp. 67, 68; Knight, pp. 300, 301.

191. This idea was fully developed and widely applied to the messianic figures of the O.T. by W.J. Beecher in his Stone Lectures. The Prophets and the Promise (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Book House, reprinted 1963), pp. 376, 377, 294, 300; Obersteiner, II, 577.
192. See bibliography by France, p. 38, n. 1.
193. F. Floulkes, The Acts of God (London: Inter-Varsity Press, 1958), p. 35.
194. J. Calvin, Commentary on the Book of Psalms, trans. J. Anderson (5 vols., Edinburgh, Calvin Translation Society, 1845-1849), I, 11. cf. S.H. Russell, "Calvin and the Messianic Interpretation of The Psalms", S.J.Th. 21 (1968), 34-47.
195. R. Nogosek, "The Royal Psalms in Form Criticism: A Historical Exegetical Survey" (Unpublished doctoral dissertation Paris, Institut Catholique, 1961), p. 212.



## Chapter II

### A STUDY OF PSALM TWO IN THE INTERTESTAMENTAL LITERATURE

## I. Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to study the various places where Ps. 2 is used in the intertestamental literature (in the broad sense of the term). Like ch. I this chapter focuses upon those verses used in the N.T., i.e. vss. 1,2,7,8,9. The procedure followed here is that of a detailed analysis of the quotations and allusions to Ps. 2 including the dating of the documents involved, establishment of the text and a survey of the context. The materials have been placed under the following general headings: Qumran literature, Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, and Rabbinic literature. The conclusions have been structured along topical lines. Since the N.T. authors did not write in some sort of a theological and cultural vacuum, this detailed study of the Jewish literature is crucial for a proper understanding of the N.T.'s use of Ps. 2.

## II. Qumran Literature

### A. Introduction

The Qumran literature provides several important pieces of evidence for the use of Ps. 2 in pre-Christian Judaism. 4QFlor and IQSa 2:11 will be given a full discussion here. The possible allusion to Ps. 2:7 in 4QPBless is taken up in a following section. There is also a fragmented text of Ps. 2:6,7 (3QPs. 2, D.J.D. III, 94) and an unpublished text of Ps. 2:1-6 (IIQPs<sup>b</sup>).

### B. 4Q Florilegium

#### 1. Introduction

Allegro, who published four lines of this fragment in 1956, provisionally entitled it 4QFlor.<sup>1</sup> In 1958 Allegro made available to the scholarly world the twenty-three lines of the florilegium that were the result of a skilful piecing together of some twenty-one odd fragments.<sup>2</sup> Then ten years later in D.J.D. V the last four lines (4QFlor 2:1-4) were fully published.<sup>3</sup> On paleographical grounds an early Herodian date is indicated for the present MS.<sup>4</sup> This fragment has attracted considerable attention because it interprets II Sam. 7:14 messianically and makes extensive use of O.T. quotations (II Sam. 7:10-14; Ex. 15:17,18; Amos 9:11; Ps. 1:1; Isaiah 8:11; Ezek. 37:23(?); Ps. 2:1,2 and Dan. 12:10). The significance of 4QFlor for this study is the use of Ps. 2:1,2 (not just vs. 1 as is indicated by D.J.D. V, 53) with pesher, the messianic interpretation of II Sam. 7:14 (ch. I has shown the importance of II Sam. 7:14 for Ps. 2:7) and the linking of these two texts in the same fragment (as ch. IV will show this linking is also found in the N.T.). Attention must first be given to the problem of the structure and theme of this fragment before examining the use of II Sam. 7:14 and Ps. 2:1,2.

## 2. Structure and Theme

Lane objects to Allegro's classification of this document as a "florilegium".<sup>5</sup> He would prefer to label it a "midrash, but understood in the Qumran rather than the rabbinic sense of the term, i.e. with the same messianic, eschatological orientation as much of the rest of their literature."<sup>6</sup> No doubt Lane is correct in stating that "florilegium" is not a completely satisfactory title — Allegro entitles his second article "Fragments of a Qumran Scroll of Eschatological Midrāsîm".<sup>7</sup> The crucial issue in Lane's article is his contention that 1:1-13 and 1:14-19 are "two independent works, with the conclusion of one and the beginning of another represented in the preserved fragments".<sup>8</sup> If this conclusion is allowed to stand, then it cannot be said that 4QFlor is evidence for the pre-Christian linking of II Sam. 7 and Ps. 2. Lane's assertion that this fragment lacks literary unity is based upon the following observations: 1) the space at the left end of 1:13 indicates a significant paragraph break, 2) the theme of 1:1-13 is "the establishment of the true house of Israel under the Davidic Messiah and the subsequent era of peace" while "by way of contrast, the second [1:14-19] treats the wicked and their affliction of the elect during the final struggle"<sup>9</sup> and 3) the style of exposition in 1:1-13 where the interpretations are introduced by the third person pronoun (1:2,3,11) is significantly different from the style of 1:14,19 where  $\text{גבולו של}$  is used as an introduction. But these observations by Lane must be scrutinized.

1) There is a space at the end of line 13; but Lane points out that there is also a significant space at the end of line 9 about which he admits that, "It is disconcerting to note that the end of 1:9 is also left blank for no apparent reason. This does not detract, however, from the inference that the blank space at the end of 1:13

marks a real transition in the text."<sup>10</sup> This type of reasoning is less than fully convincing. Even if the break at the end of 1:13 is to be interpreted as a paragraph break, does this lead to the conclusion that 1:1-13 and 1:14-19 are "two independent works"? Such a conclusion could only be demonstrated on the basis of differences in theme and in style.

2) The fragmentary nature of 4QFlor and the cluster of biblical quotations contained in it at first may obscure any recognition of a theme.<sup>11</sup> But a closer examination reveals that although it is true that the rebuilding of the house of Israel is important in 1:1-13 (Gärtner has made much of this<sup>12</sup>), the controlling theme of the entire fragment seems to be the victory of the house of Israel, i.e. the community of Qumran,<sup>13</sup> over its enemies in last days. The fragment begins in 1:1 with a reference to the "enemy [... 'And] the son of wickedness [shall no more afflict] him as at first" (II Sam. 7:10b-11a). Then the sanctuary established by Yahweh (Ex. 15:17-18) is depicted as a place "where there shall never more enter [...] and 'the Ammonite and the Moabite' and 'bastard' and 'alien' and sojourner 'for ever' ..." (1:3,4). In the next line (1:5,6) reference is made to the "strangers" who "shall not again make it desolate as they desolated formerly the sanc[tuary of I]srael...." The second quotation from II Sam. 7:11b declares that, "'And I shall [give] thee [rest] from all thine enemies'" (1:7). The enemies are the "sons of [Be]lial who made them stumble..." in order to destroy them (1:8). Thus "they came with the device of [Be]lial to make the s[ons of] Li[ght] stumble and to devise against them wicked imaginations..." (1:8b,9). It is against the background of these enemy attacks that the assurance that Yahweh will build a house is amplified by means of the quotation from II Sam. 7:11c-14a (1:10, cf. line 6). In 1:12 (a comment upon II Sam.

7:11c-14a) He promises to raise up "' the tabernacle of David that is fallen'" (Amos 9:11). This sketch shows that the theme of this midrash on II Sam. 7:10-14 in 1:1-13 is the previous opposition to the house of Israel and the future victory over the sons of Belial in the rebuilding of the house in the last days. Likewise, 1:14-2:4 (Lane did not have the fully published 2:1-4<sup>14</sup>) develops the same theme: the preservation of the house of Israel (i.e. "the Sons of Zadok and the m[e]n of the [ir] community...", 1:17) and the defeat of their enemies in the last days. Ps. 1:1 and its pesher describe the Sons of Zadok and the men of their community (1:17) as those who do not walk in the counsel of the wicked (1:14), but rather they are the ones who "turn aside" (1:14) and are "turned aside" (1:15) from walking in the way of the wicked. Thus those who have turned aside are described in the language of Ezekiel (37:23?) as the ones who shall not defile themselves any more with idols (1:16b,17). So 1:14-17 delineates the relation of the Sons of Zadok to their enemies -- they turn aside from them. On the other hand, Ps. 2:1,2 portrays the rebellion of the gentiles and their leaders "'against Yahweh and [his ancinted] '"<sup>15</sup> The interpretation (pesher) of Ps. 2:1,2 in 1:19 concerns the gentiles who are plotting a revolt against the "Elect of Israel" (see reconstruction of this text below), i.e. the Sons of Zadok (cf. C.D. 4:3-4). Column 2:1 introduces a further explanation of this gentile revolt: "This is the time of trial that is co[m]ing ... J]udah to complete [...]." The next line makes clear that Belial will in some way be connected with this revolt. In 2:3,4a, Daniel 12:10, which in its O.T. context refers to the "time of the end" (vs. 9), is cited: "'For [the wicked] to act [wickedly...] and righteous [... 'shall make themselves wh]ite and purify themselves'." So the theme of 1:14-2:4 is also the conflict between the community of

Qumran and their enemies in the last days. It is the conclusion of this analysis that 1:1-13 and 1:14-2:4 have a common theme: The victorious conflict of the community of Qumran ("sanctuary of Israel", 1:6; "a sanctuary of men", 1:6b; the "sons of light", 1:8,9; "tabernacle of David", 1:12; "Sons of Zadok", 1:17; "the Elect of Israel", 1:19; the "righteous", 2:4a; "a people knowing God", 2:4a) against their enemies ("the Ammonite and the Moabite and bastard and alien and sojourner", 1:4; "strangers", 1:5; "sons of Belial", 1:8; "Belial" 1:8,9, 2:2; "the wicked", 1:14; "this people", 1:16; "gentiles", "peoples", "kings of the earth", "rulers", 1:18) in the last days (1:2,12,15,19, cf. 2:1).<sup>16</sup>

3) Lane rests most of his case upon the alleged difference in style between 1:1-13 and 1:14-19. While it is true that 1:1-13 employs the third person pronoun to introduce the interpretative comment and that 1:14,19 uses וְשֵׁר הַדָּבָר, this does not seem to demonstrate any radical cleavage between 1:1-13 and 1:14-2:4. Although these introductory formulae are different, the use of scripture to interpret scripture in both sections is a striking parallel in style. II Sam. 7:10b-11a is interpreted by Ex. 15:17b-18 (II Sam. 7:11b is not interpreted by another scripture citation), II Sam. 7:11c-14a by Amos 9:11, Ps. 1:1 by Is. 8:11 and Ezek. 37:23(?) and Ps. 2:1,2 by a pesher comment and Dan. 12:10. Furthermore, in each case the introductory formula for the interpretative use of scripture is כַּשֶּׁר כָּתוּב (1:2,12) or כַּשֶּׁר כָּתוּב (1:15,16, 2:3).<sup>17</sup> Also in such a short fragment it is difficult to establish a style(s). Thus Lane's stylistic evidence for two documents is inconclusive.

Since this fragment includes both 1:1-13 and 1:14-19 (and 2:1-4), the burden of proof that "two ... independent works" are contained in this one fragment rests upon those who wish to prove this point. The theme and even the style of the two alleged documents are so similar that there should be little doubt concerning the literary unity of



4QFlor. Thus, it can be safely asserted that a link between II Sam. 7 and Ps. 2 did exist in pre-Christian Judaism.

### 3. Analysis of the II Sam. 7:14 Quotation in 4QFlor 1:10-13

The quotation of II Sam. 7:14 in 4QFlor deserves detailed consideration because II Sam. 7:14 is closely linked to Ps. 2:7 in the N.T. 4QFlor demonstrates that the Qumran Covenanters interpreted the promise to David in II Sam. 7:14 in an eschatological, messianic sense. This is all the more striking when it is recognized that II Sam. 7:14 is not interpreted messianically in Rabbinic literature.<sup>18</sup> Since II Sam. 7:14 and Ps. 2:7 are closely related in the O.T. (see ch. I) and II Sam. 7:14 is directly linked to Ps. 2 (vss. 1,2 not 7) in 4QFlor, this messianic interpretation of II Sam. 7:14 indirectly indicates that Ps. 2:7 may have been messianically interpreted in pre-Christian Judaism. In this eschatological, messianic interpretation of II Sam. 7:14 the "son" (בן) of II Sam. 7:14 is linked to "He is the Shoot of David" (תִּיִּת נֹסֵךְ נֶחֱמֵךְ) in 1:11. Although this is not quite a titular use of the term "son", it has been used as evidence that "Son (of God)" was associated with the Messiah in pre-Christian Judaism.<sup>19</sup> But there is an objection to this view. Gärtner interprets Shoot of David corporately.<sup>20</sup> If Shoot of David in this context means the "community", then the "son" of 1:11 would have a corporate sense similar to Ex. 4:22,23; Hosea 11:1. Thus 4QFlor 1:11 would not provide clear evidence of the association of "son" with "Messiah" ("Shoot of David") where the latter is viewed as an individual.

Gärtner's evidence that Shoot of David is "a symbol representing the community which grows up under the leadership of the Interpreter of the Law"<sup>21</sup> is as follows.

- 1) The context of 1:10-13 refers to the community and a reference

to individuals would break the continuity. But Gärtner's admission that the Interpreter of the Law is an individual invalidates his argument. The oscillation between the individual and the community is a characteristic aspect of the Jewish corporate solidarity hermeneutic.<sup>22</sup>

2) If 1:11 refers to two Messiahs, then it must be related to the "Messiah of Aaron and Israel", and "this is no light task."<sup>23</sup> But the point at issue is not whether the Shoot of David and the Interpreter of the Law constitute two Messiahs, but whether the Shoot of David is an individual or a symbol of the community. Furthermore, there is a trend among some scholars to speak of two or three "anointed ones" but only one Messiah, the davidic Messiah.<sup>24</sup>

3) In CD 1:7ff the combination of the appearance of the community as "the root of plantation" (רִיזְדוּ שְׂרִישׁ תְּבוּעָה) together with the appearance of the Teacher of Righteousness (1:11) is a "valuable illustration of the passage in 4QFlor which speaks of the growth of the 'Shoot of David' in connection with the appearance of the Interpreter of the Law."<sup>25</sup> If CD 1:7ff were an exact parallel, then it would add weight to Gärtner's contention. But "root (שְׂרִישׁ) of plantation" is not the same as the "Shoot (תְּבוּעָה) of David". What is needed is a passage in which the "Shoot of David", understood as the community, is associated with the Interpreter of the Law. This would be valuable evidence (see below).

4) The term תְּבוּעָה as used in 4QPBless (the other two uses of are 4QFlor 1:11; CD 1:7; cf. 3 above) should be interpreted as a symbol referring to the community.<sup>26</sup> Gärtner uses Allegro's translation of 4QPBless: "For the 'ruler's staff' is the covenant of the kingdom, and 'the feet' are the thousands of Israel, until the Messiah of Righteousness comes, the Shoot of David, for to him and to

his seed has been granted the covenant of the kingdom over his people for everlasting generations which has awaited [the Interpreter] of the Law with the men of the community." From this text Gärtner draws the following conclusions: that 7477 in 4QPBless as in 4QFlor refers to the community, that the "shoot of David" and "his seed" are intimately connected and that "Shoot of David" and "his seed" are "symbols referring to the community and its leaders". Thus the community, as a collective unit, is to be understood by the term "Shoot of David". Although it may be true that 7477 refers to the community in 4QFlor and in 4QPBless and that "Shoot of David" and "his seed" are intimately connected, this does not prove that "Shoot of David" is to be taken in a collective sense. The phrase "for to him and to his seed" in 4QPBless 1:4 actually distinguishes between them and demonstrates that "Shoot of David" is to be interpreted as a reference to an individual. Furthermore, the association of the "[Interpreter of] the Law" (if this is a correct reconstruction of a very fragmentary text<sup>27</sup>) with the "Shoot of David" as an individual in 4QPBless provides a more suitable parallel to 4QFlor than CD 1:7 cf. 3 above). Another point of criticism must be registered against Gärtner's statement that  $\Pi D S$  is only used three times in the literature (4QPBless, 4QFlor and CD 1:7). This is correct, but there seems to be little doubt that  $\Pi D S$  also appears in a reconstructed part of 4QpIs<sup>d</sup><sub>1</sub> which reads thus:<sup>28</sup>

[פֶּשֶׁר עַל צֶמַח דָּוִד הַעוֹמֵד בְּאַחֲרֵית הַיָּמִים]

In the context of this fragment (lines 1-5) it is clear that the "Shoot" is considered an individual. In addition to the use of  $\Pi D S$  in the Qumran literature, Gärtner should have taken into consideration the fact that the community at Qumran borrowed the term "Shoot of David" from Jer. 23:5, 33:15 and Zech. 3:8, 6:12 where it is clear that "Shoot

of David" was regarded as an individual.

5) Gärtner's last argument for the corporate interpretation of "Shoot of David" is that "tabernacle" in 4QFlor 1:13, which is a quotation from Amos 9:11, refers to the community and that this corporate use of "tabernacle" in 1:13 is evidence that "Shoot of David" should also be taken as a reference to the community.<sup>29</sup> That the "tabernacle" of Amos 9:11 in 4QFlor 1:13 refers to the community is supported by the fact that in its O.T. context "tabernacle" refers to the remnant of Israel. Also Gärtner asserts that the other use of Amos 9:11 in CD 7:14ff shows that tabernacle stands for the community, i.e. the tabernacle of the king = books of the king, the king = the community, the star = the Interpreter of the Law, hence the tabernacle of the king = the community and the Interpreter of the Law.<sup>30</sup> Gärtner's application of CD 7:14ff to 4QFlor is that "'the tabernacle of David that is fallen' and 'which will appear in order to save Israel' is the community under its Teacher in fulfillment of the promise of a restored 'house' of David."<sup>31</sup> Although it may be true that the "tabernacle of the king" in CD 7:14ff equals the community, this does not prove that "tabernacle" in 4QFlor is a community. The argument from the O.T. context for a corporate understanding of tabernacle is much more convincing. On the other hand, Silbermann<sup>32</sup>, followed by Lövestam<sup>33</sup> and de Waard<sup>34</sup>, asserts that the radicals  $\text{לכוד}$  should be pointed  $\text{לכוד}$  (branch) and not  $\text{לכוד}$  (tabernacle). His basic argument for this is that the M.T. of Amos 9:11 has been altered from  $\text{קצו}$  to  $\text{קצו}$  in order to forge a link with the  $\text{קצו}$  of II Sam. 7:14 in 4QFlor 1:10 ("I will raise up your seed") and that this link of Amos 9:11 to II Sam. 7:14 necessitates that both texts refer to the same subject, i.e. the Shoot ( $\text{קצו}$ ) or Branch ( $\text{לכוד}$ ) of David.<sup>35</sup> While agreeing with Silbermann that the text of Amos 9:11

has been altered in order to forge a link with II Sam. 7:14; nevertheless, this observation does not necessarily lead to the conclusion that both texts must refer to the same subject. On balance, it would seem that "tabernacle" in 4QFlor 1:12 stands for the community of Qumran. But this does not demonstrate that "Shoot of David" also stands for the community. Before attempting to solve the puzzle of the relation of "Shoot of David" to "tabernacle", another piece of the puzzle needs to be examined. 4QFlor 1:13, which speaks of the salvific mission of the  $\text{תַּיִת אֲדֹנָי}$  that is fallen, has employed Jer. 23:5 and 33:5 where the "righteous Shoot of David", who is an individual, is associated with the promise that "in his day Judah will be saved".<sup>36</sup> Thus the  $\text{גִּשְׁשׁ}$  (not  $\text{גִּתְשׁ}$ <sup>37</sup>) of  $\text{גִּשְׁ[שׁ]}$   $\text{לְיִשְׂרָאֵל אֲשֶׁר יָקִים לְיִשְׂרָאֵל מֶלֶךְ}$  (he who will arise to save Israel) probably is to be taken as a reference to an individual, the Branch of David. So there are three basic pieces of this puzzle that must be put together in some pattern: "Shoot of David" (1:11), "tabernacle" (1:12) and "he shall arise..." (1:13). It is the view of this study that what is involved here is the Jewish, corporate solidarity hermeneutic. Thus there is the familiar oscillation between the individual and the community. The movement in 1:10-13 is from an individual (Shoot of David, 1:11) to a community (tabernacle, 1:12) to an individual (he shall arise..., 1:13). Possibly a chart might provide a helpful summary of this discussion.

4QFlor	Gärtner	Silbermann, etc.	This Study
1. Shoot of David, 1:11	Community	Individual (Messiah)	Individual (Messiah)
2. Tabernacle, 1:12	Community	Individual (Branch, $\text{אֲדֹנָי}$ )	Community
3. He who will arise to save Israel, 1:13	Individual (Interpreter of the Law) <sup>38</sup>	Individual (Messiah)	Individual (Messiah)



In fairness to Gärtner it is necessary to note that towards the end of his discussion he admits that, "Although it is not possible, in the present state of the text of 4QFlor, to prove that the reference to 'the Shoot of David' was intended as a collective reference to the community, it is nevertheless important to note the close relationship of the collective and the individual."<sup>39</sup> But Gärtner tends to identify the collective with the individual in such a way that he fails to distinguish between them. It has already been seen that this distinction between the individual and the community must be maintained. Hence, it is difficult not to concur with de Jonge's judgment that, "Gärtner's interpretation of the 'Shoot of David' in 4QFlor is interesting but hardly convincing."<sup>40</sup> Therefore, 4QFlor 1:11 can legitimately be employed as evidence of a pre-Christian Jewish association of "son" with "Messiah" ("Shoot of David") where the latter is viewed as an individual.

#### 4. Analysis of the Psalm 2:1,2 Quotation in 4QFlor 1:18,19

The text of 4QFlor 1:18,19 according to Allegro's D.J.D. (V, 53) reconstruction is as follows:

18 [למה רגשו גוים ולאוים יהגו ריק ית' צבו  
מלכי ארץ ורוזנים נוסדו יחד על יהוה ועל  
19 [משיחו] אשר הדבר [...] גוים וה' [...] בחירי  
ישראל באחרית הימים

" ['Why do] the nations [rag]e and the peoples imag[ine] a vain thing? The kings of the earth set] themselves, [and the ru]lers take counsel together against Yahweh and against (1:19) [his anointed.] The in]terpretation of the passage [... na]tions and [...] the Elect of Israel in the last days:"

The first textual question concerns the reconstruction of the first word in line 19. Allegro<sup>41</sup>, Habermann<sup>42</sup> Dupont-Sommer<sup>43</sup> and



Vermes<sup>44</sup> read  $\text{נחמך}$  (his anointed one or his Messiah), but Yadin reads  $\text{נחמך}$  (his anointed ones).<sup>45</sup> Since Yadin departs from the M.T., the burden of proof rests upon him. Apparently, he believes  $\text{נחמך}$  is necessary in light of his reconstructed "sons of Zadok" in 19b (see below); but this is not necessary.<sup>46</sup> A more serious problem is the restoration of the rest of the badly fragmented text in 1:19. Yadin suggests that the rest of line 19 read thus: "the hidden interpretation of this [refers to the Sons of Zadok the priest]s and th[ey are] the elect of Israel in the End of Days"<sup>47</sup>  $(\text{על בני צדוק הכהן והם})$ . Although the change from  $\text{נחמך}$  to  $\text{נחמך}$  (priests) is possible, 1) it is doubtful if there is enough space for this lengthy conjecture, 2) this reconstruction requires that the pesher deal with only one aspect of Ps. 2:1,2, "his anointed ones" 3) the reconstruction is out of harmony with the rest of 4QFlor, i.e. the defeat of the rebellious enemies in the end time,<sup>48</sup> and 4)  $\text{נחמך}$  is too short for the relatively large gap in the scroll.<sup>49</sup> The reconstructions of line 19 by Allegro,<sup>50</sup> Habermann<sup>51</sup>, Strugnell<sup>52</sup>, Dupont-Sommer<sup>53</sup> and Vermes<sup>54</sup> all agree that the pesher concerns the "gentiles" or the "kings of the gentiles" who "rage and set themselves" (Strugnell) or "rise against" (Dupont-Sommer) or "plot in vain against" (Habermann) the Elect of Israel. Such a reconstruction is much more satisfactory because it is in harmony with the theme of 4QFlor and it allows for comment upon the two operative terms — gentiles and his anointed one. Indeed, Yadin himself admits that 4QFlor 2:1ff is a pesher on "why do the gentiles rage?"<sup>55</sup> Thus Habermann's reconstruction is probably the most satisfactory and is the one adopted here:

$\text{משחך אשר הדבר [על הגוים] יתגור ריק על}$   
 $\text{בחירי ישראל באחרית הימים}$

"[Messiah. The in]terpretation of this saying [concerns the gentil]es

(who) pl[ot in vain against] the elect of Israel in the last days."<sup>56</sup>  
 Now it is possible to offer some observations concerning the key terms in this peshar: "gentiles", "Elect of Israel" and "the last days".

The "gentiles" are depicted as being in revolt against the Elect of Israel. The exact identification of the "gentiles" from the description given of them in this fragment is not possible; but if the paleographically indicated date of the early Herodian period is accepted, then the Romans are probably the "gentiles" (cf. Kittim).<sup>57</sup> These "gentiles", who revolt in the last days, are associated with Belial (1:8b,9, 2:2) who along with his sons (1:8) is mentioned above in this fragment. In the pseudepigraphical literature Belial (Beliar) is regarded as the proper name of the Prince of Evil, Satan (Test. Levi 3:3, 18:12; Test. Zeb. 9:8; Sibylline Oracles III, 71-73).<sup>58</sup> It is well known that in the dualism of the D.S.S. Belial is the enemy of God (IQS 1:18; CD 4:13; IQH 3:27-29; 7:3).<sup>59</sup> Thus the "gentiles" are associated with superhuman enemies. Possibly the "gentiles" are viewed as a tool of Belial and his sons. This direct association of the "gentiles" with Belial (Satan) adds a new dimension to the understanding of Ps. 2:1,2, and this new dimension may form a bridge between the meaning of Ps. 2 in the O.T. and its employment in the N.T. (see chs. III, V).

The phrase "the Elect of Israel" is probably to be compared with "the sons of Zadok are the chosen of Israel, the (men) named with a name who shall stand at the end of days" (CD 4:3b,4).<sup>60</sup> So the "Elect of Israel" refers to the Qumran community. It is striking that rebellion against "his anointed" (his Messiah) is interpreted as rebellion or opposition against the "Elect of Israel".<sup>61</sup> Along corporate solidarity lines, the "Elect of Israel" are viewed as "his anointed". Since the contention of some O.T. commentators that "his anointed" in Ps. 2:2 refers to Israel is very unlikely, this corporate interpretation of

"his anointed" adds another new dimension to the understanding of Ps. 2:1,2 and may form another bridge between the meaning of Ps. 2 in the O.T. and its employment in the N.T.

The phrase "in the last days" makes it clear that Ps. 2:1,2 in 4QFlor 1:18,19 is set in an eschatological framework. This eschatological setting of Ps. 2:1,2 is reinforced by the comment on "the last days" in 4QFlor 2:1 ("that is the time of trial that is co[m]ing ... J]udah to complete [...] Belial ") and by the quotation from Dan. 12:10 in 4QFlor 2:3 which in its O.T. setting is clearly eschatological (see Dan. 12:9). Since in its O.T. setting Ps. 2:1,2 is understood as pointing towards a future rebellion (see ch. I),<sup>62</sup> its eschatological setting in 4QFlor is not a new dimension of understanding. But in the Qumran community the "last days" and thus the rebellion against "his anointed" was thought to be an imminent, if not a present, reality.<sup>63</sup> This is a new dimension in the understanding of Ps. 2:1,2, and it may provide another bridge between the meaning of Ps. 2:1,2 in the O.T. and its use in the N.T.

Finally, it must be asked if Ps. 2:1,2 is messianically interpreted in 4QFlor? The answer to this question depends upon the definition of messianic. If messianic means the expectation of an eschatological, anointed individual — this definition is accepted here, then the corporate understanding of  $\text{למשיח}$  in 1:19 speaks against a messianic understanding of Ps. 2:1,2 in 4QFlor.

## 5. Summary

First, it has been shown that a substantial case can be made for the literary unity of 4QFlor. This permits one to conclude that II Sam. 7 and Ps. 2 were linked in pre-Christian Judaism. Secondly, in this fragment II Sam. 7:14 is used in an eschatological, messianic sense not found in Rabbinic literature, and the association of the

"son" of II Sam. 7:14 with the "Shoot of David", an individual, demonstrates that the ideas of "son" and "Messiah" were associated in pre-Christian Judaism although 4QFlor is not an example of a fully-developed titular use of "Son of God" for the Messiah. Thirdly, the pesher in line 19 adds three new dimensions to the understanding of Ps. 2:1,2 which are not found in the O.T.: 1) the "gentiles" are associated with superhuman enemies (Belial and his sons), 2) "his anointed" is interpreted corporately and 3) the rebellion of the gentiles against "his anointed" is seen as an event that is imminent or already taking place. These new dimensions may provide bridges between the meaning of Ps. 2:1,2 in the O.T. and its use in the N.T. Fourthly, in the strict sense of the term Ps. 2:1,2 is not interpreted messianically.

#### C. IQSa 2:11-12 (4QMess ar 1:10)

##### 1. Introduction

The publication of the text of the "Appendix to the Manual of Discipline" (IQSa) gave rise to numerous discussions of the messianic passage at the close of the Appendix (IQSa 2:11-22; D.J.D. I, 110,111).<sup>64</sup> In light of the two figures in this text, the problem of the two Messiahs was given further discussion. Furthermore, the nature of the meal described in the text was thoroughly debated. But the point of special interest for this study is the use of the word  $\text{מִלְכָּא}$  in 2:11. Before discussing this, a brief introduction to IQSa will be given.

It is thought that IQSa is one of the oldest of all the Qumran writings.<sup>65</sup> After a short opening that places the rule for all the congregation of Israel "at the end of days" (1:1-5), instructions are given concerning the obligations of the various age groups (1:6-18), the special categories (old, simple, Levites, 1:19-25), the conditions

for admission to the convocation (1:25-2:10) and the procedure at the meal (2:11-22).<sup>66</sup>

## 2. Reconstruction of IQSa 2:11,12

a. Text of IQSa 2:11. At first there was some doubt about the end of 2:11 in spite of the careful examination of it by means of ultra-violet light.<sup>67</sup> Thus, Cross re-examined the MS and made new enlarged infra-red photographs of the section in question. His decision was that "the photographs are sufficiently clear, I believe, to bring to an end any further debate on the actual reading. The first three letters are ywl[ ]. Dalet is virtually certain. No letter follows dalet; yod is best for the fourth letter: ywlyd."<sup>68</sup> Thus Yadin's conjecture that the end of 2:11 should read "on the occasion of their meeting" (יָרַדְתָּם) can be safely set aside without further comment.<sup>69</sup> Although Cross<sup>70</sup> argues that the text reads יִרְדְּתָם, he, along with Milik,<sup>71</sup> Driver<sup>72</sup> and possibly Bruce,<sup>73</sup> emends the text to read יִרְדְּתָם. Cross then translates 2:11,12 thus: "[This is (the order) of the ses]sion of the 'Men of the Name who are [invited] to the Feast' for the communal council when [God] sends the Messiah to be with them."<sup>74</sup> But Gordis<sup>75</sup> has strenuously objected to this, Sutcliffe<sup>76</sup> prefers lectio difficilior potior and this emendation has not been accepted by many other scholars (see below). Since there is no insurmountable problem with retaining the reading יִרְדְּתָם, it should be retained; and the text of IQSa 2:11,12 is as follows:

[ה]וּא [זוּה מוֹן] שֶׁב אֲנָשֵׁי הַשֵּׁם [קְרִיאָה] מוֹעֵד לְעֵצָה  
הֵיחָד אִם יוֹלִיד [אֵל] [ת] הַמְּשִׁיחַ אִתָּם יְבוֹא  
[הַכֹּזֶה] רֹאשׁ כּוֹל עַד יִשְׂרָאֵל

b. Syntax of IQSa 2:11,12. After יִרְדְּתָם is accepted, the next problem in understanding the text is determining the divisions in vss.



11,12. There are two major views. One view holds that the heading (11a), the protasis (11b,12a) and the  $\square \lambda \chi$  all belong together. Thus the text would read as follows: "the following is the Session of the 'men of the Name', who are summoned in assembly to the Council of the Community in the event of God begetting the Messiah to be with them."<sup>77</sup> This is the view of Black,<sup>78</sup> Allegro<sup>79</sup> and Dupont-Sommer.<sup>80</sup> Priest,<sup>81</sup> Burrows<sup>82</sup> and Pryke<sup>83</sup> differ slightly from this view in that they attach  $\square \lambda \chi$  with the apodosis ("when God begets the Messiah, with them shall come the priest..."). The other major view is that of Sutcliffe who contends that the heading must be kept separate from the protasis. His argument is that, "After the previous regulations about the general assembly, what is required is a ruling about precedence which would hold good whether or not the Messiah were present."<sup>84</sup> But the instructions given in 2:12-22 presuppose that the Messiah of Israel will be there. Only Gordis has followed Sutcliffe.<sup>85</sup> Hence, the reading of the heading with the protasis (and the  $\square \lambda \chi$ ) is adopted here.

### 3. Nature of the Meal in IQSa 2:11-22

The nature of the meal in IQSa 2:11-22 as well as that in IQS 6:4-6 has often been discussed. It is outside the scope of this study to investigate in detail all the problems associated with the nature of this meal. Driver,<sup>86</sup> along with M. Smith,<sup>87</sup> Rowley<sup>88</sup> and van der Ploeg,<sup>89</sup> argues that the meal described in IQSa 2:11-22 is not a Messianic Banquet but rather a common meal at the end of days when the lay Messiah may be expected to be present. He asserts that the banquet 1) is not in heaven, 2) contains only plain food, 3) is attended by many who are in no sense cultic persons and 4) is subject to the requirement concerning the attendance by at least ten persons (2:22). Therefore, in his opinion there is no doubt that the rule is



prescribed for regular meals of the society at which the Messiah is expected to be present.

Although it is correct that the meal described in IQSa 2 is not parallel at every point to the popular first century A.D. idea of the messianic banquet,<sup>90</sup> allowance must be made for the possibility that the Qumran community modified popular expectations just as they modified many other current Jewish ideas. Furthermore, the basic objection that 2:22 ("And according to this decree they will act at every meal when at least ten men are gathered together") restricts the meal to a common meal with special provision made for the appearance of the Messiah is disputed. Cross<sup>91</sup> along with Black,<sup>92</sup> Pryke,<sup>93</sup> Bruce,<sup>94</sup> Milik,<sup>95</sup> Allegro,<sup>96</sup> Fitzmyer,<sup>97</sup> Stendahl<sup>98</sup> and Dupont-Sommer,<sup>99</sup> defends the position that 2:22 simply means that every meal was in some sense an anticipation of this messianic meal of IQSa.<sup>100</sup> So Driver's objections to a messianic banquet interpretation of IQSa 2:11-22 are not as formidable as they first appear to be.

Indeed there are many<sup>101</sup> who maintain that the meal in IQSa 2:11-22 is much more than just a common meal because of the special attention given to this meal, its relation to Eze. 44:3ff,<sup>102</sup> the possibility that the bread was shew-bread,<sup>103</sup> the eschatological setting of IQSa (1:1-5),<sup>104</sup> the restriction of the meal to fully-fledged members of the community<sup>105</sup> and especially the heading given in 2:11 : "The following is the Session ... in the event of God begetting the Messiah to be with them."<sup>106</sup> Although all of these arguments are not of equal validity or weight, it is probably correct to view this meal as an eschatological, messianic banquet. Thus the Messiah of Israel was to be "begotten" at an eschatological, messianic banquet.

#### 4. Meaning of $\overline{T}^1 \overline{7}^1$ in IQSa 2:11

It has been suggested by Barthélemy that the distinctive

"begetting" in IQSa 2:11 is related to a messianic interpretation of Eze. 36:12 where the LXX ( καὶ γεννήσω ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἄνθρώπους τὸν λαόν μου Ἰσραὴλ ) reads  $\Lambda\tau\tilde{\tau}\tau\tau$  ("and I will beget over you men") instead of the M.T.'s  $\Lambda\tau\tilde{\tau}\tau\tau$  ("I will cause men to walk upon you").<sup>107</sup> Since the LXX's translation of Eze. 36:12 is not clearly messianic, it is doubtful that IQSa 2:11 is referring to this idea. There are three other O.T. references to God as a begetter. In Deut. 32:18 God is the "Rock that begot you", but the "you" is Israel (cf. Is. 66:9) not the Messiah. Psalm 109:3 LXX reads  $\pi\rho\delta\ \epsilon\omega\sigma\phi\acute{o}\rho\omicron\upsilon$   $\epsilon\acute{\xi}\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\nu\eta\sigma\acute{\alpha}\ \sigma\epsilon$  , but the M.T. is confused and there is no evidence that Ps. 110 was understood messianically at Qumran. Probably the  $\tau\tilde{\tau}\tilde{\tau}$  of IQSa 2:11 should be traced back to the  $\tau\tilde{\tau}\tau\tilde{\tau}$  of Ps. 2:7b. In Ps. 2:7 the reference to a divine begetting of "his Messiah" (Ps. 2:2) is clear in the M.T. as well as the LXX. Thus a number of scholars have seen in the "begetting" of IQSa 2:11 a messianic interpretation of Ps. 2:7.<sup>108</sup> If this is a correct position — and it appears to be the most probable in light of all the evidence examined, then IQSa 2:11 is evidence of a pre-Christian Jewish messianic interpretation of Ps. 2:7. But how is the "begetting" to be understood? It has already been argued in ch. I that the idea of a physical begetting of a son by Yahweh is completely foreign to the O.T. Thus  $\tau\tilde{\tau}\tilde{\tau}$  must be taken as a figure of speech for "sending" or "establishing" the Messiah.

##### 5. 4QMess ar 1:10

To complete this section notice should be taken of the recently published "Aramaic Messianic Text from Qumran Cave 4" (4QMess ar).<sup>109</sup> Starcky has argued that 4QMess ar 1:10 ("[But] his [cal]culations [will succeed] because he is the Elect of God. His birth and the

(very) spirit of his breath...")<sup>110</sup> contains a reference to the Messiah as the "Elect of God". If Starcky is correct, then 4QMess ar 1:10 speaks of the "birth" (מִלְדָּה) of the Messiah and might shed some light on IQSa 2:11ff. But Fitzmyer has objected to Starcky's identification of the "Elect of God" as the Messiah. The term "anointed one" is not mentioned in 4QMess ar, the "Elect One" of the "Parables of Enoch" (which Fitzmyer thinks are not pre-Christian) is not exactly parallel and the closest title in the O.T. is "my Chosen One" which is applied to Moses (Ps. 106:23), David (Ps. 89:3) and the Servant of Yahweh (Is. 42:1). Fitzmyer believes that the "Elect of God" is Noah<sup>111</sup>, but he cannot cite evidence to show this. The fragmentary nature of 4QMess ar and the lack of a direct identification of the "Elect of God" as the Messiah in this document necessitates a cautious use of 4QMess ar 1:10 as another example of the birth or begetting of the Messiah. Furthermore, the begetting of the Messiah in IQSa 2:11 and Ps. 2:7 is by God (God is not specified as the begetter in 4QMess ar), and is clearly metaphorical (the birth in 4QMess ar could be taken literally).

## 6. Summary

The reading מִלְדָּה in IQSa 2:11 is virtually certain and need not be emended. The heading, protasis and פְּסָח are to be taken together. The meal is an eschatological, messianic banquet. The distinctive מִלְדָּה is probably to be traced back to Ps. 2:7 and understood as a messianic interpretation of Ps. 2:7. In this context מִלְדָּה refers to the sending or establishing of the Messiah.

### D. 4Q Patriarchal Blessings

Lövestam<sup>112</sup> suggests that פְּסָח in 4QPBless line 2 ("[there will not] be cut off a king (i.e. enthroned one) in it belonging to

(the line of) David. For the ruler's staff (רֹדֶף) is the royal mandate (לִכְזֹבֵב לְיָדָיו)<sup>113</sup> should be pointed רֹדֶף ( "what has been decreed") and that רֹדֶף is related to רֹדֶף of Ps. 2:7. רֹדֶף makes sense in the context, and this type of word-play is well-known in the D.S.S. (CD 6:7). Accepting Lövestam's suggestion with some reservations, it must then be asked if there are any factors that favour the relating of רֹדֶף to רֹדֶף of Ps. 2:7.<sup>114</sup> It can be stated that 1) there is an obvious employment of the davidic promise tradition ("a king in it belonging to David", cf. Jer. 33:17; "Messiah of Righteousness shall come, the shoot of David", cf. Jer. 23:5; 33:15; "for to him and to his seed", cf. II Sam. 7:12) of which Ps. 2 is an important part (4QFlor, P.S. 17; Sirach 47:11), and 2) the "royal mandate" or "covenant of kingship" (לְיָדָיו לִכְזֹבֵב) is parallel to לִכְזֹבֵב רֹדֶף לְיָדָיו (διαθήκην βασιλέων) of Sirach 47:11 which probably contains an allusion to רֹדֶף of Ps. 2:7 (see below). Thus it is possible that רֹדֶף should be pointed רֹדֶף and be taken as an allusion to Ps. 2:7, but this cannot be asserted with much confidence.

### III. Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha

#### A. Introduction

In the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha there is one direct reference and several other allusions to Ps. 2. The one direct reference which is found in the Psalms of Solomon (P.S.) will be given detailed consideration. The other allusions will be grouped together in a second section.

#### B. Psalms of Solomon

##### 1. Introduction

The P.S. is a collection of eighteen, possibly nineteen,<sup>115</sup> psalms which were written sometime between 80 B.C. and 30 B.C.<sup>116</sup> by someone(s) who was closer to the Essenes than the Pharisees.<sup>117</sup> Although these psalms are only extant in nine Greek MSS and a Syriac translation, it is generally accepted that they were composed in Hebrew.<sup>118</sup> To date, no Hebrew (or Greek) fragments of the P.S. have been found in the Qumran library. The translation of the Hebrew originals into Greek probably took place not later than the end of the first century A.D.<sup>119</sup>

##### 2. The Messiah in P.S. 17,18

Psalm 17 has three major sections: introduction (vs. 1-4), the overthrow of the davidic dynasty (vs. 5-22) and the Messiah and his reign (vs. 23-51). In the introduction God is addressed as "King for ever and ever" (vs. 1) whose kingdom "is for ever over the nations in judgment" (vs. 4). The psalm concludes with the affirmation that "the Lord Himself is our king for ever and ever" (vs. 51). This means that the Messiah is the vicegerent of God. The second section (vs. 5-22) begins with a direct reference to II Sam 7: "Thou, O Lord didst choose David (to be) king over Israel, and swarest to him touching his seed that never should his kingdom fail before Thee" (vs. 5). But the

"sinners" (Hasmoneans) caused the down-fall of the throne of David (vs. 8).<sup>120</sup> Therefore, God sent a man that was "alien to our race" (vs. 9), a "lawless one" (vs. 13), who punished the Hasmoneans and carried away captives "unto the west" (vs. 14). As a result "they that loved the synagogue of the pious fled from them" and "wandered in deserts" (vs. 18).

In this situation the psalmist pleads for the Lord to raise up unto them "their king, the Son of David" (vs. 23). This plea is the beginning of the third division which consists of a prayer for deliverance from enemies by the Son of David (vs. 23-31), a description of the Messiah and his reign (vs. 32-46) and a brief conclusion (vs. 47-51). In vs. 23 the plea for the "raising up" of the Son of David is no doubt a reference to II Samuel 7:12 (cf. P.S. 17:47). This is followed by a description of the destruction of the enemies in terms of Ps. 2:9 (vs. 26) and Is. 11:4b (vs. 27, cf. vs. 39, 41). Then he "shall gather together a holy people, whom he shall lead in righteousness" (vs. 28).

Vss. 32-46 give a lengthy and important description of the Messiah and his reign. The Messiah is described as being righteous (17:35), "taught of God" (17:35), "the anointed of the Lord" (17:36, cf. 18:6, 8 and heading), one having no confidence in riches or men (17:37) but in his God who is King (17:38), "pure from sin" (17:41), wise, strong and righteous by means of the holy spirit (17:35, 42; 18:8; cf. Is. 11:2), "blessed of the Lord" (17:43) and "the son of David" (17:23). His reign is characterized as one in which he will destroy the enemies (17:24-27), purge Jerusalem (17:25, 33), cause the nations to serve and to fear him (17:32, 34) gather together (17:28, 50) and judge (17:28, 48) the tribes of Israel, "rule a great people" (17:41), shepherd the flock of the Lord (17:45),<sup>121</sup> bless the people with wisdom



and gladness (17:40) and glorify the Lord (17:32).<sup>122</sup> From this brief summary it is evident that the emphasis falls upon the Messiah's spiritual qualities rather than his military might.<sup>123</sup> Although the Messiah has these superior, spiritual characteristics, he is only human and is dependent upon his God.<sup>124</sup>

### 3. Use of Psalm Two

a) Ps. 2 and II Sam. 7. The centrality of II Sam 7 in the longings of the poet is evidenced by his allusions to it in 17:5,23,47. II Sam. 7:12 is conflated with Ps. 89(88):3,4 in 17:5 ( σὺ, κύριε ἡρετίσω τὸν Δαυὶδ βασιλέα ἐπὶ Ἰσραὴλ καὶ σὺ ὥμοσας αὐτῷ περὶ τοῦ σπέρματος αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ μὴ ἐκλείπειν ἀπέναντί σου βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ). The "seed" (σπέρματος cf. II Kings 7:12 σπέρμα Ps. 88:5 σπέρμα ) and the "for ever" ( εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα , cf. II Kings 7:13,16 εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα , Ps. 88:5 τοῦ αἰῶνος ) are found in II Sam. 7 and Ps. 89.<sup>125</sup> The "choosing" ( ἡρετίσω , cf. Ps. 88:4 ἐκλεκτοῖς μου ) and the "swearing" ( ὥμοσα , cf. Ps. 88:4 ὥμοσα and Ps. 131:11 ὥμοσεν ) are developments found in Ps. 89. Thus P.S. 17:5 goes back to II Sam. 7:12<sup>126</sup>, but it also refers to an expanded and developed tradition associated with II Sam. 7:12. An important element in this tradition is the "raising up" of the king, the son of David (17:23, cf. 47) which is found in the O.T. (Jer. 30:9, Eze. 34:23, Amos 9:11 cf. III Kings 14:14), the D.S.S. (4QFlor 1:10,12; CD 7:16) and in the N.T. (see ch. IV). The use of II Sam. 7 in this context, as in 4QFlor, is clearly messianic. One of the texts linked to II Sam. 7:12 in P.S. 17:23 in order to depict how the Messiah will act is Ps. 2:9. This linking of II Sam. 7 and Ps. 2 in pre-Christian Judaism (cf. 4QFlor) is a tradition that reappears in the N.T. (see

ch. IV).

b) Use of Ps. 2:9 in P.S. 17:26. (1) The context of P.S. 17:26. As seen above, this section (17:23ff) commences with a reference to the raising up of a king. The king's mission is to destroy the enemies (vs. 24-27) and to gather together a holy people (vs. 28-31). Who are these enemies? P.S. 17:26, 27 calls them "sinners". Since it is the "proud spirit" and "confidence" of these "sinners" that the king breaks in pieces with his iron sceptre, it will be instructive to identify them.

The term ἁμαρτωλός is used thirty-two times in the P.S. Ryle and James regard the term ἁμαρτωλός as essentially synonymous with Sadducee.<sup>127</sup> In P.S. 17:6 ("sinners rose up against us") the term sinner must refer to the Sadducees since 17:9 distinguishes the "sinners" from the "alien to our race" (Pompey). On the other hand, in P.S. 2:38,39 the context makes it clear that the sinner was "the insolent one slain on the mountains of Egypt" (Pompey, vs. 30). Thus it is possible for the term sinner to refer to the gentiles as well as to the Sadducees. Since "sinners" of vs. 26 is parallel to "nations" (ἔθνη) of vs. 27, "sinners" in this context simply means gentiles and not Sadducees.

(2) Text. ἐξώσαι ἁμαρτωλοὺς ἀπὸ κληρονομίας. ἐκτρίψαι ὑπερηφανίαν ἁμαρτωλοῦ<sup>128</sup> ὡς σκεὺ ἑραμέως· ἐν ῥάβδῳ σιδηρᾷ συντρίψαι πᾶσαν ὑπόστασιν αὐτῶν.

(vs. 26, Swete, The O.T. in Greek, III, 785). Ryle and James place a comma after ἁμαρτωλοὺς and read, "he shall ... utterly destroy the proud spirit of the sinners, and as potter's vessels with a rod of iron shall be break in pieces all their substance." But von Gebhart, Swete, Gray, Rahlf and Harris (Syriac)<sup>129</sup> place a period or comma after

κεραμέως and read, "He shall destroy the pride of the sinner as vessels of a potter. With a rod of iron he shall break in pieces all their substance (confidence)." (It is clear that "as vessels of a potter" has been transposed from its O.T. position of following "with a rod of iron" to preceding it.) Whatever punctuation is adopted, the meaning of Ps. 2:9 in this context is not affected. Besides the change in word order, there is the change of σκεῦος (Ps. 2:9 LXX) to σκεύη, συντρίψεις (Ps. 2:9 LXX) to συντρίψαι (to agree with θραῦσαι (vs. 24), ἐξῶσαι (vs. 26), ἐκτρίψαι (vs. 26) and ὀλοθρεύσαι (vs. 27))<sup>130</sup> and αὐτούς (Ps. 2:9 LXX) to πᾶσαν ὑπόστασιν αὐτῶν which is probably drawn from P.S. 15:17 and should be translated "all their confidence".<sup>131</sup>

(3) Meaning of Ps. 2:9 in P.S. 17:26. The allusion to Ps. 2:9 ("He shall destroy the pride of the sinners as 'vessels of a potter. With a rod of iron he shall break in pieces' all their substance", 17:26), as well as the allusion to Is. 11:4b ("He shall destroy the ungodly nations 'with the word of his mouth'", 17:27), is in a context of destroy-the-gentiles, i.e. "shatter unrighteous rulers" (vs. 24), "thrust out sinners" (vs. 26), "destroy the proud spirit of the sinners" (vs. 26) and "destroy the ungodly nations" (vs. 27). But P.S. 17:27b, which is clearly parallel to 17:26, 27a ("with a rod of iron he shall break in pieces all their substance" vs. 26, "with the word of his mouth he shall destroy the ungodly nations" vs. 27, "with the word of their heart he shall convict (ἐλέγξει) sinners" vs. 27b), does not agree with the destroy-the-gentiles theme. Should Ps. 2:9 and Is. 11:4 (vss. 26, 27a) be interpreted in terms of vs. 27b, should vs. 27b be interpreted in terms of vss. 26, 27a or is there a third possibility? Some light is shed upon this question by P.S. 17:38b, 39: "And he shall have mercy upon all the nations that come before him in fear. For he shall smite the earth with the word of his mouth even for evermore."

Here destruction and mercy are placed side by side. This juxtaposition probably explains how P.S. 17:26,27 is to be understood. Thus vss. 26,27a warn of destruction: vs. 27b indirectly calls for repentance. Therefore, in this context Ps. 2:9 (and Is. 11:4b) is part of a destroy-the-gentiles motif.

(4) O.T. Texts Associated with Ps. 2:9. In addition to the association of Ps. 2:9 with II Sam. 7:12 and Ps. 89:3,4 in P.S. 17:5,23 (see above), Ps. 2:9 is linked to Is. 11:4b in P.S. 17:26,27 (cf. 17:39; 18:8). Probably these texts were drawn together in the Hebrew original because of a common  $\text{ללש}$ , but in the Greek translation the allusion to Is. 11:4 was conformed to the LXX which translates  $\text{ללש}$  by  $\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ .<sup>132</sup> Chevallier argues that Ps. 2:9 is also associated with Is. 49: "Israel thy servant" (P.S. 17:23- Is. 49:3) and "he shall gather together a holy people" (P.S. 17:28 - Is. 49:5,6, cf. Is. 11:11).<sup>133</sup> If, as Ryle and James suggest,  $\Theta\rho\alpha\upsilon\sigma\alpha\iota\ \acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\omicron\nu\tau\alpha\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\delta\acute{\iota}\kappa\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$  of P.S. 17:24 is drawn from  $\Theta\rho\alpha\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\iota\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\eta\gamma\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$   $\text{M}\omega\beta$  of Num. 24:17, then Ps. 2:9 is also linked to Num. 24:17 (and Is. 11 is linked to Num. 24, cf. IQSb 5:24-29; Test. of Levi 18:3,6; Test. of Judah 24:1,5b). But this is uncertain. The association of Ps. 2:9 with Is. 11:4 and Is. 49 is a tradition that reappears in the N.T. (ch. V).

c) Allusions to Ps. 2 in P.S. In the allusion to Ps. 2:9 in P.S. 18:7,8 the text is as follows: "Blessed are they that shall be in those days: for they shall see the goodness of the Lord which he shall bring to pass for the generation that cometh, under the rod of chastening (  $\text{ὕπὸ}\ \rho\acute{\alpha}\beta\delta\omicron\nu\ \pi\alpha\iota\delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$  ) of the LORD's anointed in the fear of his God: in the spirit of wisdom and of righteousness and of might to direct every man in the work of righteousness with the fear of God."<sup>134</sup> Gray, apparently following a

suggestion by Wellhausen, conjectures "that ὑπό is a rendering of a misunderstood ἄντι which should have been rendered ἀντί " and taken to mean that, "Instead of the rod of chastening (there shall be) the Lord's Anointed."<sup>135</sup> But 1) the Greek MSS read ὑπό (or ἀπό), 2) it is possible that the coming generation would be under some discipline and 3) the phrase "fear of God", which occurs three times in 18:8-10, goes well with the rod of chastening. So the text is accepted without emendation.

Besides the verbal link of the ῥάβδος of P.S. 18:8 with Ps. 2:9, two other factors point toward an allusion to Ps. 2:9. First, Ps. 2:9 has already clearly been referred to in P.S. 17:26 (chs. 17 and 18 are very closely associated in their themes). Secondly, the reference to Is. 11:2 in 18:8b ("in the spirit of wisdom and of righteousness and of might") is combined with ῥάβδος (18:8a) in a way that recalls the combination of Is. 11:4b and Ps. 2:9 in P.S. 17:26,27. Thus it is probable that ῥάβδος of 18:8 alludes to Ps. 2:9.

The function of the rod in 18:8, however, is not the same as the rod in 17:26 or in Ps. 2:9 in its O.T. context. In 18:8 παιδείας modifies ῥάβδον and presents the picture of the Lord's anointed shepherding (cf. 17:45) his flock with his ῥάβδος. Thus ῥάβδος of Ps. 2:9 is employed in two ways in P.S.: to crush the sinners (17:26) and to discipline (shepherd) the righteous (18:8).

That Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ of P.S. 18:6 ("The LORD cleanse Israel for the day when he shall have mercy upon them and shall bless them: even for the day of his appointing when he shall bring back his anointed"<sup>136</sup>) is drawn from Ps. 2:2 is supported by the following observations. 1) Of the ten occurrences of Χριστὸς αὐτοῦ in the LXX,<sup>137</sup> the most likely source in terms of its context is



Ps. 2:2. 2) It is evident from the allusion to Ps. 2:9 in P.S. 17:26 that Ps. 2 is an important source for P.S. 3) It is probable that Ps. 2:9 is alluded to in the nearby P.S. 18:8. If Ps. 2:2 is alluded to in P.S. 18:6, then this is evidence of a eschatological and messianic use of "his Messiah" of Ps. 2 in Pre-Christian Judaism.

#### 4. Summary

Since the P.S. have affinities with the Qumran literature, the two major occurrences of Ps. 2 in pre-Christian Jewish literature, i.e. Ps. 2:1,2 in 4QFlor 1:18,19 and Ps. 2:9 in P.S. 17:26, are found in writings that stem from the same intellectual milieu. In the description of the Messiah, the son of David, in P.S. 17,18 the accent falls upon his spiritual qualities. Ps. 2:9 is associated with II Sam. 7:12, Ps. 89:3,4, Is. 11:4b, 49:3-6 and perhaps Num. 24:17. The Ps. 2-II Sam. 7, Ps. 2-Is. 11 and Ps. 2-Is. 49 traditions reappear in the N.T. In P.S. 17:26, Ps. 2:9 is given an eschatological and messianic interpretation and is part of a destroy-the-gentiles motif; but in P.S. 18:8, Ps. 2:9, which is probably alluded to, is reinterpreted, i.e. the rod is a rod of discipline for the righteous. In P.S. 18:6, *Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ* is probably an allusion to Ps. 2:2 and thus an instance of a messianic interpretation of Ps. 2:2.

#### C. Allusions to Psalm Two

##### 1. Wisdom of Jesus Ben Sira

This book which was written by Jesus ben-Eleazer ben-Sira, is dated approximately 190 B.C.<sup>138</sup> Until recently it was only extant in Greek; but the discoveries of a partial Hebrew text in the Cairo Geniza, fragments from the Qumran and now a sizable fragment from Masada<sup>139</sup> have made available two-thirds of the Hebrew text and point to the conclusion that the Hebrew text of the Geniza is earlier than the



Greek text.<sup>140</sup> Although the Greek translation was made in Egypt by the grandson of the author after 117 B.C., the author lived and wrote in Palestine.<sup>141</sup>

Sirach 47:11, which is part of a large section devoted to the "praise of the fathers of old" (chs. 44-49), speaks of a promise given to David: "Jahveh also put away his sin and lifted up his horn for ever. Also He gave to him the decree of the kingdom and established his throne over Israel."<sup>142</sup> Since part of the Hebrew text of 47:11b is in a poor state of preservation,<sup>143</sup> various readings of 47:11b have been given: 1) Levi,<sup>144</sup> Cowley and Neubauer<sup>145</sup> read:  $\text{לִי} \quad \text{לְ[לִי]}$   $\text{לְכֹד} \quad \text{לְרָנָה}$ , 2) Driver<sup>146</sup> reads:  $\text{לְכֹד} \quad \text{לְרָנָה} \quad \text{לְרָנָה} \quad \text{לְרָנָה}$ , 3) Vattioni<sup>147</sup> and Segal<sup>148</sup> read:  $\text{לְכֹד} \quad \text{לְרָנָה} \quad \text{לְרָנָה} \quad \text{לְרָנָה}$ . The  $\text{לִי}$  is definitely attested in the Greek versions ( $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omega$ ) and the  $\text{לְרָנָה}$  is also witnessed to by  $\delta\iota\alpha\theta\eta\kappa\eta\nu$  which is used in Sirach 45:7, 25 to translate  $\text{לְרָנָה}$ . As early as 1906 Smend<sup>149</sup> read  $\text{לְכֹד}$  in place of  $\text{לְכֹד} \quad \text{לְרָנָה}$ . Smend has been followed by Driver (1953), Segal (1953) and Vattioni (1968). This study adopts the text of Vattioni, but it must be kept in mind that one cannot speak with absolute certainty about this reading. The Greek text reads:

$\kappa\alpha\iota \quad \acute{\epsilon}\delta\omega\kappa\epsilon\nu \quad \alpha\upsilon\tau\omega \quad \delta\iota\alpha\theta\eta\kappa\eta\nu \quad \beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$ <sup>150</sup>  
 $\kappa\alpha\iota \quad \theta\rho\acute{o}\nu\omicron\nu\sigma \quad \delta\acute{o}\xi\eta\varsigma \quad \acute{\epsilon}\nu \tau\omega \quad \text{Ισραηλ}$  (Göttingen text).  
 "And he gave to him a covenant of kings and a throne of glory in Israel."

It has been noted by Chevallier<sup>161</sup>, Lövestam<sup>152</sup>, Allen<sup>153</sup>, and Caquot<sup>154</sup> that the  $\text{לְרָנָה}$  of Sirach 47:11 is probably an allusion to the  $\text{לְרָנָה}$  of Ps. 2:7. In an article on the use of the O.T. in Sirach, Snaith cautions that a word or phrase from biblical language may not be an allusion but simply part of the common vocabulary.<sup>155</sup> This is indeed a timely stricture, but in this case there are three factors that

buttress the possibility of an allusion to Ps. 2:7. First, "Jerusalem" of the Hebrew text (יְרוּשָׁלַיִם יְהוָה יֵשׁוּבָהּ), which has been replaced by "Israel" in the Greek, Old Latin and Syriac versions, recalls Ps. 2:6 : "I have set my king on Zion, my holy hill." Secondly, the clause "and lift up his horn for ever" (47:11a) echoes Ps. 89:24b while "establish his throne" points to II Sam. 7:12. This network of phrases is part of the II Sam. 7 - Ps. 89 - Ps. 2 tradition which is clearly attested in P.S. 17:23ff. Thirdly,  $\rho\pi$  which is here and in 45:7,25 translated by  $\delta\epsilon\alpha\theta\acute{\eta}\kappa\eta$  is only rendered by  $\delta\epsilon\alpha\theta\acute{\eta}\kappa\eta$  in one other place — Sexta of Ps. 2:7. On balance, it seems permissible to see here an allusion to the  $\rho\pi$  of Ps. 2:7.

How is Ps. 2:7 employed in Sirach? Although 47:11 is probably placed at the end of the description of David for emphasis, the context of the allusion is not eschatological or messianic. It is simply a reference to the historic giving of the decree of the kingdom to David.<sup>156</sup> (In the following section, however, the author ends his description of Solomon with a promise that is perhaps messianic: "And He will give to Jacob a remnant and to the house of David a root from him" (Sirach 47:22b, cf. Is. 11:1,10).<sup>157</sup>)

What is the significance of this allusion to Ps. 2:7? First, it is evidence of a non-messianic use of Ps. 2:7 in pre-Christian Judaism. Secondly, the combination of Ps. 2:7 with Ps. 89:24b and II Sam. 7:12 is an early (190 B.C.), non-messianic employment of the kind of tradition which later appears in a distinctly messianic setting (P.S. 17:23ff). Thirdly, the translation of  $\rho\pi$  by  $\delta\epsilon\alpha\theta\acute{\eta}\kappa\eta$  demonstrates that at least by one pre-Christian Jewish translator in Egypt the  $\rho\pi$  tradition originating from Ps. 2:7 was viewed as a covenant (cf. ch. I).

## 2. Wisdom of Solomon

This book, like Proverbs and Ecclesiastes, belongs to the wisdom

literature. The author is an Alexandrian Jew of the first century B.C. who seeks to defend the Jewish belief in God by using the tools of Hellenistic learning.<sup>158</sup>

The clearest allusion to Ps. 2 in Wisdom of Solomon (Wsd.) is found in 6:1 : "Hear, therefore, ye kings, and understand; learn, ye judges of the ends of the earth." (Ἀκούσατε οὖν, βασιλεῖς, καὶ σύνετε μάθετε, δίκασταὶ περάτων γῆς, Göttingen text). The words βασιλεῖς and σύνετε correspond exactly to the LXX of Ps. 2:10. Probably ἀκούσατε was added to parallel μάθετε. The second line departs from the LXX in that רַחֵם יְיָ טוֹבִיחַ is rendered μάθετε, δίκασταὶ περάτων γῆς rather than παιδεύθητε πάντες οἱ κρίνοντες τὴν γῆν (LXX). With the exception of the phrase περάτων γῆς, which is probably drawn from Ps. 2:8, the author is following the M.T. (note the omission of the LXX's πάντες in Wsd. 6:1). In addition to this allusion to Ps. 2:10, which is recognized by many scholars,<sup>159</sup> van Iersel asserts that there are several more allusions to Ps. 2 in Wsd. 1-6.<sup>160</sup> He points out that οἱ κρίνοντες τὴν γῆν of Wsd. 1:1 is also an allusion to Ps. 2:10. Wsd. 1:1 announces the beginning of a section (ch. 1-5), and 6:1 in similar terms introduces the next section (ch. 6-9).<sup>161</sup> In Wsd. 4:18 ("but them the Lord shall laugh to scorn") the striking ἐκγελάσεται, with ὁ κύριος as subject, is probably an allusion to Ps. 2:4 : ὁ κατοικῶν ἐν οὐρανοῖς ἐκγελάσεται αὐτούς, καὶ ὁ κύριος ἐκμυκτηριεῖ αὐτούς. Perhaps the phrase ἐπλανήθημεν ἀπὸ ὁδοῦ ἀληθείας of Wsd. 5:6 does allude to ἀπολεῖσθε ἐξ ὁδοῦ δικαίας of Ps. 2:12 (LXX not M.T.), but van Iersel's statement that "Sap. 2:18 and

5:5 hangen mit Ps. 2:7 zusammen" is debatable.<sup>162</sup> In 2:18 "the righteous man" ( ὁ δίκαιος ) is connected with the "servant of the Lord"<sup>163</sup> or child of God<sup>164</sup> ( παῖδα κυρίου, 2:13) and "God's son" ( υἱὸς Θεοῦ , 2:18). In 5:5 "the righteous man" ( ὁ δίκαιος ) is linked with the "sons of God" ( ἐν υἱοῖς Θεοῦ ). Neither of these passages contains a definite reference or allusion to Ps. 2:7 because in the latter case the passage speaks of sons not the son, the king (Ps. 2:7), and in the former case "the righteous man", as the context of Wsd. 1-5 makes clear, is used collectively.<sup>165</sup>

The allusions to Ps. 2 in Wsd. 1:1; 4:18; 6:1 are in an ethical context rather than an eschatological,<sup>166</sup> messianic setting. Thus Wsd. provides evidence of the use of Ps. 2 in an ethical setting and in a Jewish Hellenistic milieu.

### 3. IV Ezra (II Esdras)<sup>167</sup>

A possible allusion to Ps. 2:7 in IV Ezra is found in "My Son the Messiah" (filius meus) of 7:28,29 (cf. "my son" in 13:32,37,52; 14:9). De Jonge states that, "Falls man doch an der Lesart Sohn festhalten möchte, muss man annehmen, dass dieser Ausdruck im Sinne von Ps. 2:7, vgl auch 2 S. 7:14, gedeutet wurde."<sup>168</sup> But many scholars, including de Jonge, do not think that the lost Greek and Hebrew texts contained any reference to Ps. 2:7. It is argued that filius meus is a translation of παῖς μου or יְדִיד which apparently lies behind "my servant" of an Arabic version and an Ethiopic version.<sup>169</sup> The key argument as stated by Violet<sup>170</sup> in 1924 and accepted by Jeremias<sup>171</sup>, Hahn<sup>172</sup> and Fuller<sup>173</sup> is that, "No Christian would ever have changed υἱὸς to παῖς but the opposite might easily have happened."<sup>174</sup> Finally, Bloch,<sup>175</sup> Kruijf<sup>176</sup> and Grelot<sup>177</sup> think that the filius meus is possibly a Christian interpolation (see especially

the filius meus Jesus of 7:28). These arguments against a υἱός μου or a בן in the original text are forceful and cannot easily be refuted. But it is curious that Is. 11:4, which is clearly referred to in IV Ezra 13:10,11, is found in close conjunction with filius meus (13:32ff). This Is. 11:4 - Ps. 2 tradition is definitely attested in pre-Christian Judaism (P.S. 17:26,27, cf. Midr. Ps. 2 & 3 and I Enoch 48:8, 10; 49:3). The reference to Mount Zion in 13:3b perhaps reflects the influence of Ps. 2:6. Furthermore, 4QFlor affords evidence that "son (of God)" was at least coming into use as a designation for the Messiah.<sup>178</sup> But these factors do not prove that there was an original υἱός μου or בן that was influenced by Ps. 2:7. At any rate, the late date for IV Ezra puts in question any use of this document as evidence for a pre-Christian influence of Ps. 2:7.<sup>179</sup>

#### 4. I Enoch

Before considering the allusions to Ps. 2 in I Enoch, something must be said about the dating of the "Similitudes" (chs. 37-71). Generally speaking, continental European scholars date this section of I Enoch somewhere between 175-63 B.C. On the other hand, British scholars often advocate a first or second century A.D. date.<sup>180</sup> The analysis of the Aramaic fragments from Qumran by Milik will probably strengthen this latter position.<sup>181</sup> Due to this dispute about the precise determination of the date (and provenance) of the "Similitudes", they will not be employed as evidence for a pre-Christian Jewish use of Ps. 2.<sup>182</sup>

The allusions to Ps. 2 occur in a section which is introduced as "the Second Parable concerning those who deny the name of the dwelling of the holy ones and the Lord of Spirits" (45:1). This section (chs. 45-57) describes the Messiah's judgment of "sinners" and "kings".



Chapters 48, 49, 62, which contain the allusions, call the Messiah the Son of Man (48:2), his Anointed (48:10, cf. 52:4) and Elect One (49:2, 4). In 48:8 the phrase "the kings of the earth" echoes  $\text{מלכֵי תְּרָאָה}$  ( $\text{οἱ βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς}$ ) of Ps. 2:2. In 48:10 (cf. 52:4<sup>183</sup>) the denial of "the Lord of Spirits and His Anointed" reflects the influence of  $\text{לַיהוָה וְלִמְשִׁיחֵהוּ}$  ( $\text{κατὰ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ κατὰ τοῦ χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ}$ ) of Ps. 2:2. This influence of Ps. 2 on I Enoch 48:8, 10 has been recognized by Charles<sup>184</sup>, Chevallier<sup>185</sup>, de Jonge<sup>186</sup> and Lövestam.<sup>187</sup> These allusions to Ps. 2:2 are associated with a reference to Is. 11:2 in 49:3. Thus I Enoch 48:8-49:3 is an example of the Ps. 2-Is. 11 motif which is rooted in pre-Christian Judaism (see P.S. 17). I Enoch 62:1ff, which contains a reference to Is. 11:4 ("and the word of his mouth slays all the sinners"), may echo the language of Ps. 2:2 ("and there shall stand up in that day all the kings and the mighty and the exalted and those who dwell on the earth" vs. 3).

The allusions to Ps. 2:2 are located in an eschatological, messianic judgment setting. Such a context is in line with the pre-Christian Jewish tradition connected with Ps. 2 in the P.S. and Qumran literature, but there is no trace of the Messiah being called Son of God — he is the Son of Man (Dan. 7), the Elect One (Is. 42:1?)<sup>188</sup> and his Anointed (Ps. 2:2).<sup>189</sup> Although the messianic use of Ps. 2 and its association with Is. 11 are traditions definitely attested in pre-Christian Judaism, the uncertainty of the dating of the "Similitudes" prohibits the employment of I Enoch 48(62) as pre-Christian Jewish evidence of a messianic interpretation of Ps. 2 or of an association of Ps. 2 with Dan. 7 or Is. 42:1.

## 5. Summary

Sirach and Wsd., which are pre-Christian, use Ps. 2 in a



non-messianic sense. Sirach combines Ps. 2 with Ps. 89 and II Sam. 7, a combination also seen in P.S. 17, and shows that in some circles the  $\Pi$  of Ps. 2:7 was understood in terms of a covenant. Wsd. contains the only example of a pre-Christian Hellenistic use of Ps. 2 as well as the only pre-Christian allusion to Ps. 2:10. On the other hand, IV Ezra and I Enoch, which are first or second century A.D., use Ps. 2 in a messianic sense. Both associate Ps. 2 with Isaiah 11, a combination stemming from at least the first century B.C. The filius meus of IV Ezra may allude to Ps. 2:7; but the underlying Greek or Hebrew texts probably read "my servant". I Enoch attests the combination of Son of Man (Dan. 7) and Elect One (Is. 42?) with his Anointed (Ps. 2).

#### IV. Rabbinic Literature

##### A. Introduction

Before presenting a survey of the use and interpretation of Ps. 2 in the Rabbinic literature, a brief summary of the present state of affairs concerning the dating and use of this material must be set forth. Then the material will be grouped around the three texts that are cited by the N.T., i.e. vss. 1,2; 7,8; 9.

##### B. Dating of Rabbinic Literature

The dispute about the relation of Rabbinic literature to the N.T. is one with a long and involved history.<sup>190</sup> That this issue is far from settled can be seen in the recent McNamara-Fitzmyer dialogue concerning the dating of the Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch.<sup>191</sup> McNamara in his most recent volume, Targum and Testament, concludes a lengthy discussion of this question by stating that, "There is a good likelihood that the present texts of the Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch transmit substantially the paraphrase of the Pentateuch formed in pre-Christian times and known to Palestinian Judaism of the early Christian period."<sup>192</sup> So a pre-Christian date is currently being advocated in some quarters for at least a part of the vast Rabbinic literature. But it is acknowledged that the written form of the Rabbinic literature stems from the third century A.D. and following. Therefore, one must use this material critically, i.e. 1) the date of the Rabbi must be checked and 2) the age of the tradition embodied in the literature must be ascertained by comparing it with other datable traditions. Neusner's recent work on Rabbinic traditions emphasizes this latter point.<sup>193</sup> Hence, for the purpose of this study the diverse Rabbinic literature will only be employed as evidence of pre-Christian Jewish interpretation of Ps. 2 where on critical grounds a case can be made for an early dating of a tradition.<sup>194</sup>

C. Ps. 2:1,2

The first question to be answered in this section is against whom is the rebellion directed? The M.T. reads, "against Jahweh and his anointed". 'Abodah Zarah 3b speaks of rebellion against "God and His Messiah"<sup>195</sup> — some texts speak of attacking God who is the protector of Israel rather than Israel (Lev. R. 27:11,<sup>196</sup> Esther R. 7:23<sup>197</sup>, Midr. Ps. 2 & 4; cf. Midr. Ps. 149:6<sup>198</sup>). The  $\text{למלך}$  of Ps. 2:2 is interpreted as follows: 1) Messiah (Midr. Ps. 2 & 3<sup>199</sup>), 2) Son of David (Midr. Ps. 92 & 10<sup>200</sup>), 3) Israel (Ex. R. 51:5<sup>201</sup>, Lev. R. 27:11<sup>202</sup>), 4) Aaron (Midr. Ps. 2 & 3<sup>203</sup>) and 5) Daniel (Midr. Ps. 64:1<sup>204</sup>). The interpretation that  $\text{למלך}$  refers to the Messiah is a tradition originating in the pre-Christian era (cf. P.S. 18:6) as is also the case with  $\text{למלך}$  referring to Israel (4QFlor 1:18f).

The second question concerns the identification of the rebellious ones. In Ex. R. 51:5<sup>205</sup> and Midr. Ps. 64 & 1<sup>206</sup> the rebellious ones of Ps. 2:1,2 are called the gentiles. But usually the rebellious ones are called Gog and Magog (Berakoth 7<sup>b</sup>, 10<sup>a</sup>,<sup>207</sup> Midr. Ps. 3 & 2 and 118 & 12<sup>208</sup>, Pes. K. 9:11<sup>209</sup>, Ex. R. 1:1<sup>210</sup>, Lev. R. 27:11<sup>211</sup>, Tanch.  $\text{ל}$  14b<sup>212</sup> and Tanch. B.  $\text{ל}$  & 24<sup>213</sup>, Haggadath Bereshith<sup>214</sup>, Midr. Esther 3:12<sup>215</sup>, Esther R. 7:23<sup>216</sup>). Is there any evidence outside the Rabbinic literature that this tradition goes back to the pre-Christian era? Recently, McNamara has argued that the tradition presented in Targum Neofiti on Num. 11:26 (see also F.T.), which renders Eldad and Medad as Gog and Magog and speaks of their defeat by the hands of King Messiah, stems from the pre-Christian era.<sup>218</sup> Thus it is perhaps possible to trace this aspect of the Gog and Magog tradition back to the pre-Christian era. But was this Gog and Magog tradition associated with Ps. 2 in pre-Christian Judaism?

In two instances, Berakoth 7b credited to R. Simeon b. Yochai

(about 150 A.D.) and Tanch.  $\Pi \Pi$  14b credited to R. Jose the Galilean (about 110 A.D.), this Rabbinic tradition is seen to be very early and presumably preserves an earlier tradition. Although the Qumran literature does not attest the Gog-Magog-Ps. 2 tradition, it does provide examples of the threads that perhaps were woven together to form this Gog-Magog-Ps. 2 tradition. First, 4QIs<sup>d</sup> 4 mentions Magog (the only published reference to Magog in Qumran literature) in a pesher on Is. 11:1-5, a passage which is closely associated with Ps. 2 in pre-Christian Judaism. Secondly, IQM 11:16 speaks of Gog (the only published reference to Gog in Qumran literature) in association with Belial (IQM 11:8) and Num. 24:17 (IQM 11:6). In 4QFlor 1:18-2:3 Belial is associated with the kings of Ps. 2:1,2 and in P.S. 17:23-26 there is the possibility that Num. 24:17 is associated with Ps. 2:9. Thus on the basis of the early date of the Rabbinic tradition and in light of the early threads of this tradition found in the Qumran literature, it would appear that there existed a Gog-Magog-Ps. 2 tradition at the close of the first century A.D.

The third question concerns the association of other biblical texts with Ps. 2:1,2 in the Rabbinic literature. Is. 42:13, Zech. 14:9 and others are associated with Ps. 2:1,2 (see Lev. R. 27:11), but the important one for this study is the linking of Ps. 2:1,2 with Is. 11:4 (Midr. Ps. 2 & 3). This is exactly the same tradition that is found in P.S. 17 except that the Midrash has "rod of his mouth" (M.T.) rather than "word of his mouth" (LXX).

Thus the Rabbinic material on Ps. 2:1,2 provides supplementary evidence for the messianic interpretation of  $\Pi \Pi \Pi \Pi$ , the linking of Ps. 2 with Is. 11 and the eschatological interpretation of Ps. 2:1,2. It affords primary evidence for a pre-Christian Gog-Magog-Ps. 2 tradition.

D. Ps. 2:7,8

"You are my son" has been interpreted as a reference to the Messiah and to the people of Israel. The interpretation of the son as the Messiah is found in an early<sup>219</sup> baraita in B. Sukkah 52a : "The Holy One, blessed be He, says to the Messiah, the son of David (May he reveal himself speedily in our days!), 'Ask of me anything, and I will give it to you', as it is written, 'I will tell of the decree' etc. 'today I have begotten you. Ask of me, and I will make the nations your heritage'."<sup>220</sup> Another example, which is credited to R. Jonathan (about 240 A.D.), is found in Gen. R. 44:8<sup>221</sup> with a parallel in Midr. Ps. 2 & 10.<sup>222</sup> Midr. Ps. 2 & 9 also has a saying of R. Yudan (about 350 A.D.) and R. Huna (about 350 A.D.) where son is taken as the Messiah.<sup>223</sup> In the Targum on Ps. 80:16 the ל of the M.T. is changed to ל ל ל ל ל (LXX and Syraic have son of man, cf. vs. 18b). Dalman believes that the author of the Targum on Ps. 80:16 "clearly had Ps. 2 in view",<sup>224</sup> but Huntress<sup>225</sup> and Lövestam<sup>226</sup> are a bit more cautious. Indeed, there is nothing in either the Targum or the M.T. of Ps. 80:16 that points clearly to Ps. 2:7.

The interpretation of the son of Ps. 2:7 as the people of Israel is preserved in two parallel passages: Midr. Ps. 2 & 9<sup>227</sup> and Yalqut Shime'oni 2:621.<sup>228</sup> Both passages adduce texts from the Torah, the Prophets and the Hagiographa that also say the son is Israel (see below). A further weakening of the son concept is found in the Targums on Ps. 2:7 and on II Sam. 7:14.<sup>229</sup> This is also found in Midr. Ps. 2 & 9 : "God does not say 'I have a son' but 'Thou art like a son to Me' as when a master wishing to give pleasure to his slave says to him 'Thou art as dear to me as a son'."<sup>230</sup> Dalman thinks that this last passage is very late and probably was inspired by an anti-Christian bias.<sup>231</sup>

None of these traditions associated with Ps. 2:7 in the Rabbinic

materials can be definitely dated as pre-Christian although the messianic interpretation of Ps. 2:7 perhaps goes back to pre-Christian times (IQSa 2:11). Thus, the first instance of the son of Ps. 2:7 being interpreted as Israel is found in the Rabbinic material. But it must be kept in mind that  $\text{לְיִשְׂרָאֵל}$  of Ps. 2:2 had already been interpreted in a corporate sense in 4QFlor. The evidence from the Targum on the Psalms, whatever the date of the traditions contained in it may be, shows both a strengthening (Ps. 80:16) and a weakening (Ps. 2:7 cf. II Sam. 7:14) of the son - Messiah interpretation. Therefore, the only new element to emerge from this Rabbinic literature on Ps. 2:7a is the concept that the son of Ps. 2:7 is Israel.

Before passing on to Ps. 2:7b, it should be noted that Ps. 2:7a is linked with Ex. 4:22, Is. 52:13, 42:1, Ps. 110:1 and Dan. 7:13, 14 in Midr. Ps. 2 & 9.<sup>232</sup> But the tradition cannot be traced back to the pre-Christian era.

The words "today I have begotten you" are interpreted by R. Huna (about 350 A.D.) in Midr. Ps. 2 & 9 as follows: "Suffering is divided into three portions: one, the Patriarchs and all the generations of men took; one the generation that lived in the time of [Hadrian's] persecution took; and one, the generation of the Lord Messiah will take. When the time comes, the Holy One, blessed be He, will say: 'I must create the Messiah — a new creation. As Scripture says, This day have I begotten thee — that is, on the very day of redemption, God will create the Messiah.'<sup>233</sup> In the light of this kind of Rabbinic tradition,<sup>234</sup> Lövestam states that, "The suffering of the Messiah referred to must be presumed to have taken place before his appearance in public, and when a re-creation of the Messiah is necessary, it may be assumed that the sufferings affected his body. The use of Ps. 2:7 in this case may then possibly be regarded as pointing in the same



direction as an application of the scriptural word in question to the resurrection, though at the same time it is clear that no parallel between the two cases exists."<sup>235</sup> Thus this late Rabbinic tradition should not be used as a proof or an explanation of any alleged application of Ps. 2:7b to the resurrection of Jesus.

The earliest use of Ps. 2:8 in Jewish literature is found in B. Sukkah 52a<sup>236</sup> where the basis of the asking is the Messiah's sonship. The Messiah, son of David, sees that the Messiah, son of Joseph,<sup>237</sup> is slain; thus he asks for life (Ps. 21:5).<sup>238</sup> Lövestam thinks that this life may in some sense be parallel to the resurrection or at least presuppose it, but the idea is that of avoidance of death rather than death followed by life. On the other hand, the basis for asking in Midr. Ps. 2 & 9 according to R. Yudan (about 350 A.D.) is not the Messiah's sonship but his study of the Torah (cf. 4QPBless 5). These references to Ps. 2:8 provide the first clear examples of a messianic interpretation of this text, but this interpretation cannot be traced back to pre-Christian Judaism.

#### E. Ps. 2:9

The use of Ps. 2:9 by R. Jose (about 150 A.D.) in an ethical debate contributes nothing to the understanding of Ps. 2:9 in the N.T. (Midr. Ps. 2 & 11<sup>239</sup>; Gen. R. 14:7<sup>240</sup>). Likewise the curious passage in Midr. Ps. 120 & 7<sup>241</sup> where God tells the Messiah to break them (the nations) with a rod of iron and the Messiah answers "Nay ... I shall begin with peace" contributes nothing to the understanding of Ps. 2:9 in the N.T. (but cf. the Fathers). Gen. R. 97<sup>242</sup> and Yalqut Shim. 2:621<sup>243</sup> link Gen. 49:10 and Ps. 2:9 : "'The sceptre shall not depart from Judah' alludes to the Messiah, son of David, who will chastise the State with a staff, as it says, 'Thou shalt break them with a rod of iron'" (Gen. R. 97). But is this linking Ps. 2 and Gen. 49 an early

tradition? Neither Gen. R. 97 nor Yalqut Shim. 2:621 gives an indication of the date of the tradition they contain, but it is known that both are late compilations. One piece of evidence that indirectly bears upon the dating of this tradition is 4QPBless (see above) where Gen. 49:10 perhaps is related to Ps. 2:7, but this is very uncertain. Thus it cannot be clearly shown that Gen. 49 and Ps. 2 were linked together in a Jewish tradition that stems from the pre-Christian era.

#### F. Summary

From this survey of the use of Ps. 2 in the Rabbinic materials the following important and/or new ideas emerge. First, there is fairly good evidence that the association of Gog-Magog with Ps. 2:1,2 has its roots in pre-Christian Jewish soil. Secondly, there are a few places that interpret the son of Ps. 2:7 as the Messiah; this interpretation appears to have been abandoned in later Jewish thought probably because of the use of Ps. 2:7 by Christians. Thirdly, the idea that the son of Ps. 2:7 is Israel emerges here for the first time.

## V. Conclusions

### A. Introduction

In the intertestamental literature the various references and allusions to Ps. 2 have been examined according to their location in the literature. This approach was utilized because it best facilitated a critical analysis of each piece in its historical and literary context. But a topical approach is also profitable. Thus the conclusions will be grouped around four topics: 1) Ps. 2 and its association with other O.T. texts, 2) "Son of God" as a pre-Christian Jewish designation for the Messiah, 3) the various interpretations of Ps. 2:1,2,7,8,9 and 4) the kind of Messiah associated with Ps. 2.

### B. Ps. 2 and its Association with other O.T. Texts

In this section a brief summary of the places where Ps. 2 is linked with other O.T. citations or allusions is presented in chart form. The danger of such a chart is that of over-simplification; but if it is viewed in light of the previous attempt at a critical discussion of the texts involved, this danger should be avoided. For the sake of brevity the texts are not written out. The texts are arranged in approximate chronological order. Only the first four texts are clearly pre-Christian. Passages that perhaps refer to Ps. 2 are included but marked as questionable. The chart shows that in pre-Christian Judaism there is a tradition of linking Ps. 2 with the davidic covenant of II Sam. 7:12ff (Ps. 89:3ff). This tradition drops out of view in later Jewish literature where Ps. 2 is often associated with Is. 11:1-4. Both of these traditions appear in the N.T.

	Sirach 47:11	4QFlor 1:11ff	4QP Bless	P.S. 17:23ff	P.S. 18:6ff	I Enoch 48,49	IV Ezra 13	Gen. R. 97	Midr. Ps. 2 & 3	Yalqut Shim. 2:621	Midr. Ps. 2 & 9
Ps. 2:1,2		X				X			X		
Ps. 2:7	X		X?				X				X
Ps. 2:9				X	X			X		X	
II Sam. 7:12ff	X	X	X?	X							
Ps. 89:3ff	X			X							
Is. 11:1-4				X	X	X	X	X	X		
Num. 24:17				X?							
Gen. 49:10			X							X	Ex. 4:22; Is. 42:1; 52:13 Ps. 110:1; Dan. 7:13,14

### C. Son of God as a Pre-Christian Jewish Designation for the Messiah

This section summarizes the discussion concerning the possibility of a messianic titular use of Son of God in pre-Christian Judaism. The most crucial pieces of evidence (4QFlor, IQSa 2:11, IV Ezra) have already been discussed in some detail above. In the history of this debate scholars such as Dalmann<sup>244</sup> and Bousset<sup>245</sup> have rejected the idea that Son of God had messianic associations in pre-Christian Judaism. More recently Jeremias<sup>246</sup> and Hooker<sup>247</sup> also have taken this position. On the other hand, in the light of Qumran finds (esp. 4QFlor) Hahn<sup>248</sup>, Fuller<sup>249</sup>, Lövestam<sup>250</sup>, Longenecker<sup>251</sup> and Gerhardsson<sup>252</sup> have argued that Son of God did have messianic associations in pre-Christian Judaism. Even before these recent discoveries Bultmann<sup>253</sup>, Cullmann<sup>254</sup> and Huntress<sup>255</sup> thought that Son of God perhaps was interpreted messianically in pre-Christian Judaism.

The evidence that has been adduced for a pre-Christian Jewish messianic interpretation of the Son of God title is as follows: 1) I Enoch 105:2 has a reference to "I and my Son", but chapter 105 is missing in the Beatty-Michigan Papyrus. Thus I Enoch 105 is probably a Christian interpolation.<sup>256</sup> 2) IV Ezra 7:28f; 13:32,37,52; 14:9 speaks of filius meus which is thought to be a translation of an original "my servant" not "my son". This is probably correct, but ch. 13 does contain a reference to Is. 11:4 which is closely linked to Ps. 2 in P.S. 3) It has been argued that a messianic interpretation of Ps. 2:7 is probably found in IQSa 2:11, but this does not mention the term "son". 4) 4QFlor 1:10ff links the "son" of II Sam. 7:14 with the davidic Messiah, but this is not quite a titular use of the term. 5) Several scholars have reported that Milik has an unpublished Aramaic fragment from the Qumran finds that links Son of God and Messiah.<sup>257</sup> In the light of 4QFlor, Fuller is probably justified in his conclusion that "Son of God was just coming into use as a Messianic title in

pre-Christian Judaism."<sup>258</sup>

#### D. Interpretations of Ps. 2:1,2,7,8,9

##### 1. Verses 1,2

a) The "gentiles" of vss. 1,2 are, of course, to be defeated by the Messiah. But what emerges from this study as a new dimension in the use of vss. 1,2 is that 4QFlor associates these "gentiles" with Belial and his sons and the Rabbinic literature identifies the "gentiles" as Gog and Magog. The tradition in 4QFlor is undoubtedly pre-Christian, and the Rabbinic tradition is at least late first century A.D. This new dimension may serve as a bridge between Ps. 2:1,2 in its O.T. context and its use in the N.T.

b) "His Anointed" in the pre-Christian Jewish literature is probably interpreted messianically (P.S. 18:8; see also I Enoch 48:10; Rabbinic literature). A new dimension in pre-Christian Judaism is that 4QFlor (and some of the Rabbinic literature) interprets  $\Pi\Pi'WD$  in a corporate sense. This new dimension may serve as a bridge between Ps. 2:1,2 in its O.T. context and its use in the N.T.

c) 4QFlor interprets Ps. 2:1,2 as if the fulfillment of this text were imminent, if not already accomplished. Thus, there are three new dimensions in the interpretation of Ps. 2:1,2 in pre-Christian Judaism that pave the way for its use in the N.T.

##### 2. Verses 7,8

$\Pi\Pi$  of Ps. 2:7 is used in a non-eschatological, non-messianic sense in Sirach 47:11. In the Greek version of Sirach 47:11,  $\Pi\Pi$  is translated by  $\delta\epsilon\alpha\theta\acute{\eta}\kappa\eta$ . Thus there is some indication that  $\Pi\Pi$  was considered a covenant in pre-Christian Judaism — it has been argued in ch. I that in the O.T. itself  $\Pi\Pi$  is associated with covenant. Furthermore, if  $\Pi\Pi\Pi D$  of 4QPBless is pointed  $\Pi\Pi\Pi D$  and



if this is related to the  $\text{pn}$  of Ps. 2:7, then the sentence "What has been decreed is a covenant of kingship" evinces a covenant understanding of  $\text{pn}$  of Ps. 2:7 in pre-Christian Palestinian Judaism and places  $\text{pn}$  in a davidic, messianic context; but the pointing of  $\text{ppn}$  and its relation to Ps. 2:7 are uncertain.

"My Son" of IV Ezra 13 and the clearly messianic interpretation of Ps. 2:7 in an early Baraitha in B. Sukkah 52a show that in the early Christian era Judaism interpreted Ps. 2:7 messianically although it appears that there was also a reaction to the Christian use of Ps. 2:7. In pre-Christian Judaism Ps. 2:7 is not directly cited, but the much debated  $\text{נִי־נִי־נִי}$  of IQSa 2:11 is probably an allusion to Ps. 2:7 and thus affords evidence of a pre-Christian Jewish interpretation of Ps. 2:7. In light of the clearly messianic interpretation of Ps. 2:9 in P.S. 17:26, the messianic use of  $\text{נִי־נִי־נִי}$  in P.S. 18:6, which is probably an allusion to Ps. 2:2, (if Ps. 2:2 and Ps. 2:9 were understood messianically, it creates a presumption that Ps. 2:7 was also so understood), the messianic interpretation of "son" of II Sam. 7:14 (4QFlor 1:11; cf. P.S. 17:5,23) — II Sam. 7 is closely linked to Ps. 2 in 4QFlor, P.S. 17 and Sirach 47:11, and the probable allusion to Ps. 2:7 in the messianically understood  $\text{נִי־נִי־נִי}$  of IQSa 2:11, it is possible to conclude that if Ps. 2:7 was not already understood messianically in pre-Christian Judaism, at least it was only a short step to such a messianic use of Ps. 2:7 in the N.T.

Perhaps there is an allusion to Ps. 2:8 in Wsd. 6:1, but the first definite reference to it is not found until the later Rabbinic literature where the kingdoms are given to the Messiah on the basis of his sonship or his study of the Torah. Thus the intertestamental literature does not attest any pre-Christian Jewish interest in the use of Ps. 2:8.

### 3. Verse 9

Apart from 4QFlor, the allusion to Ps. 2:9 in P.S. 17:26 is the only direct reference to Ps. 2 in definitely pre-Christian literature. The use of Ps. 2:9 in P.S. is found in one of the clearest messianic passages in all of the intertestamental literature. Although the accent of P.S. 17,18 falls upon the Messiah's spiritual qualifications, Ps. 2:9 is used here in a military sense -- i.e. destroy-the-gentiles. The immediate context of P.S. 17:26, however, shows that if the gentiles are convicted by the "word of their heart" (and repent), they will be placed under a "rod of discipline" (P.S. 18:8, probably an allusion to Ps. 2:9) of the messianic shepherd rather than a iron rod of destruction. Thus the idea of destroy-the-gentiles is qualified by the possibility of repentance. In Rabbinic literature Ps. 2:9 is also associated with the destroy-the-gentiles motif.

#### E. Kind of Messiah Associated with Ps. 2

Ps. 2 is directly associated with the davidic Messiah in 4QFlor, P.S. 17,18, 4QPBless (?) and Rabbinic literature. This davidic Messiah is seen as a warrior who destroys the gentiles (P.S. 17,18; Rabbinic literature). This destroy-the-gentiles aspect of the Messiah's rule, apart from the davidic aspect, is also found in IV Ezra 13 and I Enoch 48,49,62. In P.S. 17,18 this military aspect of the Messiah's rule is overshadowed by his outstanding spiritual qualities, i.e. sinless (in a legal sense), wise, righteous by the holy spirit and taught of God. The Messiah associated with Ps. 2 in pre-Christian Judaism is called "Son of David" (P.S. 17), "the Messiah of Israel" (IQSa 2:11), "his Messiah" (P.S. 18), and "the Messiah of Righteousness, the Shoot of David" (4QPBless?). In later literature he is called "his Messiah" (I Enoch 48,52), "Elect One" (I Enoch 49,

52,62; "Mine Elect" in ch. 48), "Son of Man" (I Enoch 48) and "My Son" (IV Ezra, 7,13). Although "his anointed" of Ps. 2:2 in 4QFlor is not messianically interpreted — in the strict sense of the term, Ps. 2:1,2 is associated with II Sam. 7:14 where the Messiah is called "son" (of God).

Footnotes for Chapter Two

1. J. Allegro, "Further Messianic References in Qumran Literature", J.B.L. 75 (1956), 176, 177. Hereafter abbreviated as "Further Messianic References...."
2. J. Allegro, "Fragments of a Qumran Scroll of Eschatological Midrašim", J.B.L. 77 (1958), 350-354. Hereafter abbreviated as "Fragments ...."
3. J. Allegro with the collaboration of A.A. Anderson, Qumran Cave 4: I (4Q158 - 4Q186) (D.J.D., Oxford, University Press, 1968), V, 53-55. It is important to note that the publication of 4QFlor prior to 1968 lacked the additions to col. 2:1-4 given in the D.J.D. edition.
4. W.R. Lane, "A New Commentary Structure in 4Q Florilegium", J.B.L. 78 (1959), 346, n. 14. But G.R. Driver asserts that the reference to the Messiah as the "son of God" in 4QFlor shows that this fragment must be dated in the post 70 A.D. era to agree with the designation of the Messiah as "son" in IV Ezra 7:28,29. The Judean Scrolls: The Problem and a Solution (Oxford: Basil Blackwood, 1965), p. 468. But Driver's assertion simply assumes that it is impossible for "son of God" to be a pre-Christian Jewish designation for the Messiah. Thus different grounds for dating the fragment must be used. Driver's general dating of the scrolls and his conclusions about the identity of the sect have not been widely accepted. For criticisms of his position see R. de Vaux, "The Judean Scrolls. 2. Essenes or Zealots?", N.T.S. 13 (1966-67), 89-104; W.F. Albright and C.S. Mann, "Qumran and the Essenes : Geography, Chronology, and Identification of the Sect", The Scrolls and Christianity : Historical and Theological Significance, ed. M. Black (Theological Collection 11, London, S.P.C.K., 1969), pp. 11-25, esp. p. 15.
5. Lane, pp. 343,346.
6. Lane has correctly noted that one must not read into the use of "midrash" in 4QFlor the ideas that are associated with the term in Rabbinic literature. On the whole topic of the definition of midrash see the seminal article by R. Bloch, "Midrash", D.B.S. V, 1263-1280; G. Vermes summarises Bloch. Scripture and Tradition in Judaism: Haggadic Studies (St.P.B. 4, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1961), pp. 7, 8. Recently A.S. Wright has tried to define midrash in terms of literary genre only (excluding midrash as a method). The Literary Genre Midrash (New York: Society of St. Paul, 1967). But this has called forth a strong critique by R. Le Déaut who advocates a broad definition of the term. "Apropos a Definition of Midrash", Interp. 25 (1971), 262-282.
7. Allegro, "Fragments ....", p. 350.
8. Lane, p. 346.
9. Lane, p. 344.
10. Lane, p. 344, n. 5.

11. A. Dupont-Sommer, The Essene Writings from Qumran, trans. G. Vermes (New York: World Publishing Company, 1961), p. 311.
12. B. Gärtner, The Temple and the Community in Qumran and the New Testament (M.S.S.N.T.S. 1, Cambridge, University Press, 1965), pp. 30-41.
13. Gärtner, pp. 30-41.
14. Lane, p. 343, n. 3.
15. See reconstruction of 1:19 below.
16. Possibly the theme of 4QFlor should be compared with that of the War Scroll (IQM). Also see the Royal Psalms (2,45,72,89,110) and Luke 1:71,73.
17. For a study of the introductory formulae as well as a study and classification of O.T. quotations see J.A. Fitzmyer, "The Use of Explicit Old Testament Quotations in Qumran Literature and in the New Testament", N.T.S. 7 (1960-61), 297-333. (= J.A. Fitzmyer, Essays on the Semitic Background of the New Testament (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1971), pp. 3-58.)
18. A.S. van der Woude, Die messianischen Vorstellungen der Gemeinde von Qumrân (Assen : Van Gorcum and Comp., N.V., 1957), p. 174; cf., St. - Bil. III, 677.
19. G.R. Driver indicates that "here the writer infers that the lay Messiah is the 'son of God'." p. 468; van der Woude in reference to 4QFlor states that "... dieses Dokument [ist] ein Beleg für die Bezeichnung des Messias als Sohn Gottes." p. 174; J.A. Allegro writes that, "We appear, then, to have in Qumran thought already the idea of the lay Messiah as the Son of God, 'begotten' of the Father, a 'Saviour' in Israel." The Dead Sea Scrolls: A Reappraisal (2nd ed., Baltimore, Penguin Books, 1964), p. 170. Those working in the area of christology have also noted this link. See R.H. Fuller, The Foundations of New Testament Christology (London: Collins, 1965), p. 32; F.H. Hahn, The Titles of Jesus in Christology, trans. H. Knight and G. Ogg (London: Lutterworth Press, 1969), p. 282; B. Gerhardsson, The Testing of God's Son, trans. J. Toy (C.B.N.T. Series 2, Lund, C.W.K. Gleerup, 1966), p. 23; E. Schweizer comments that, "In 4QFlor 'The Son of God' is the Messiah, but the decisive factor is again the holy people, the 'tabernacle of David'." "The Concept of the Davidic 'Son of God'", Studies in Luke-Acts, ed. L.E. Keck and J.L. Martyn (New York: Abingdon Press, 1966), p. 190, cf. p. 191; R.N. Longenecker, The Christology of Early Jewish Christianity (S.B.T., Second Series 17, London, S.C.M., 1970), p. 95; I.H. Marshall, "The Divine Sonship of Jesus", Interp. 21 (1967), 92. Th. De Kruijf, Der Sohn des lebendigen Gottes (An. Bib. 16, Rome, Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1962), pp. 21,22. For an objection to this interpretation see C. Burger, Jesus als Davidsohn: Eine traditionsgehistorische Untersuchung (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1970), p. 19.
20. Gärtner, p. 36.



21. Gärtner, p. 37. cf. G. Klinzing, Die Umdeutung des Kultus in der Qumrangemeinde und im Neuen Testament (St.U.N.T. 7, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1971).
22. Gärtner, himself, recognizes this phenomenon when he states that, "It is not always easy to tell which of the two is meant on any given occasion. A similar oscillation is to be observed both in the O.T. and in Judaism." p. 36.
23. Gärtner, p. 36.
24. M. Black, in his Morse Lectures (1956), places an important stricture on the so-called "Two Messiah" position when he asserts that, "The claim that he (High Priest) was also viewed as a 'Messiah' in the same sense (though with different functions) as 'the Messiah of Israel' must, I think, be viewed with reserve. The fact that the High Priest takes precedence of the Messiah of Israel may mean very little; presumably he would do so in any Temple rite or priestly function, but this does not mean that we are to regard the High Priest as in the strict sense a 'Messianic' figure." The Scrolls and Christian Origins (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1961), p. 147; A.J.B. Higgins also argues that, "At Qumran there was not a belief in a secular and a priestly Messiah, but only in a messianic Davidic prince and deliverer." "The Priestly Messiah", N.T.S. 13 (1966-67), 218; R.B. Laurin also reaches this conclusion. "The Problem of the Two Messiahs in the Qumran Scrolls", R. Qum. 4 (1963), 39-52. J.J. Smith, "A Study of the Alleged 'Two Messiah' Expectation of the Dead Sea Scrolls Against the Background of Developing Eschatology", (Doctoral Dissertation, Vanderbilt University, 1970); for discussion of the Messiah(s) at Qumran see also W.S. LaSor, "The Messiahs of Aaron and Israel", V.T. 6 (1956), 425-429; K. Schubert, "Die Messiaslehre in den Texten von Chirbet Qumran", B.Z. 1 (1957), 177-197; K.G. Kuhn, "The Two Messiahs of Aaron and Israel", The Scrolls and the New Testament, ed. K. Stendahl (London: S.C.M., 1958), pp. 54-64; H.W. Kuhn, "Die beiden Messias in den Qumrantexten und die Messiasvorstellung in der rabbinischen Literatur", Z.A.W. 70 (1958), 200-208; M. Smith, "What is Implied in the Variety of Messianic Figures?", J.B.L. 78 (1959), 66-72; van der Woude, pp. 185ff; J. Liver, "The Doctrine of the Two Messiahs in Sectarian Literature in the Time of the Second Commonwealth", H.Th.R. 52 (1959), 149-185; J. Gnilya, "Die Erwartung des messianischen Hohenpriesters in den Schriften von Qumran und im Neuen Testament", R. Qum. 2 (1959-60), 395-426; J. Starcky, "Les quatre étapes du messianisme à Qumrân", R.B. 70 (1963), 481-505; K. Weiss, "Messianismus in Qumran und im Neuen Testament", Qumran-Probleme, ed. H. Bardtke, Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin: Schriften der Sektion für Altertumswissenschaft, 42 (1963), 353-368; E.A. Wcela, "The Messiah(s) of Qumran", C.B.Q. 26 (1964), 340-349; M. de Jonge, "The Use of the Word 'Anointed' in the Time of Jesus", Nov. T. 8 (1966), 132-148, Driver, pp. 462-485; S. Talmon, "Typen der Messiaserwartung um die Zeitwende", Probleme biblischer Theologie, ed. H.W. Wolff (München: Chr. Kaiser, 1971), 571-588; J.R. Villalón, "Sources vétero-testamentaires de la doctrine qumrânienne des deux Messies", R. Qum. 8 (1972), 53-63.



25. Gärtner, p. 37.
26. Gärtner, pp. 38, 39.
27. Gärtner here follows Allegro's ("Further Messianic References ....", p. 175) reconstruction of "Interpreter" of the Law, p. 39. But Dupont-Sommer (p. 315) and G. Vermes do not concur with this reconstruction. The Dead Sea Scrolls in English (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1962), p. 227.
28. The following read  $\Pi D S$ : Allegro, "Further Messianic References ....", p. 180 and D.J.D. V, 14; Dupont-Sommer, p. 275; Vermes, p. 227.
29. Gärtner, p. 41.
30. Gärtner, p. 41.
31. Gärtner, p. 42.
32. L.H. Silberman, "A Note on 4Q Florilegium", J.B.L. 78 (1959) 158, 159.
33. E. Lövestam, Son and Saviour: A Study of Acts 13:32-37, trans. M.J. Petry (C.N.T. 18, Lund, C.W.K. Gleerup, 1961), p. 64.
34. J. de Waard, A Comparative Study of the Old Testament Text in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the New Testament (S.T.D.J. IV, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1965), p. 26, n. 3.
35. Silberman, p. 158.
36. It should be noted that in Jer. 33:18 the Levitical priest is associated with a man of David's line, the Branch. This may be parallel to the "Branch of David" and the "Interpreter of the Law" in 4QFlor 1:11. Zech. 6:12,13 also links the "Branch" and the "priest" in connection with the rebuilding of the temple of the Lord.
37. Allegro first read  $\gamma \tilde{\eta} [x]$  ("and afterwards") ("Further Messianic References ....", p. 177), but in "Fragments" (p. 353) he read  $\gamma \psi [x]$  and in D.J.D. (V, 53)  $\gamma \psi [x]$ .
38. Gärtner (p. 42) takes the "he" as a reference to the Interpreter of the Law, but the salvific mission of the "he" and the O.T. language employed (Jer. 23:5, 33:15) point to a Davidic Messiah.
39. Gärtner, p. 40.
40. J.Th.S. 17 (1966), 429.
41. Allegro, "Fragments", p. 354 and D.J.D., V, 53.
42. A.M. Habermann, Megilloth Midbar Yehuda: The Scrolls from the Judean Desert (Israel: Machbaroth Lesifrut Publishing House, 1959), pp. 173, 174.
43. Dupont-Sommer, p. 314.

44. Vermes, p. 247.
45. Y. Yadin, "A Midrash on II Sam. 7 and Ps. 1,2 (4Q Florilegium)," I.E.J. 9 (1959), 98.
46. Gärtner has "his anointed one" but adopts "sons of Zadok" in 19b. p. 40.
47. Yadin, p. 98.
48. In order to avoid the charge of circular reasoning, it should be noted that the theme of 4QFlor could be established without reference to line 19.
49. J. Liver, "The 'Sons of Zadok the Priest'", R. Qum (1967), p. 8, n. 11.
50. Allegro, "Fragments", p. 354 and D.J.D. V, 53, 54.
51. Habermann, pp. 173, 174.
52. J. Strugnell, "Notes en marge du volume V des 'Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan'", R. Qum. 7 (1970), 222.
53. Dupont-Sommer, p. 314.
54. Vermes, p. 247.
55. Yadin, p. 98, n. 32.
56. Habermann has read  $\Pi^1$  instead of  $\Pi\bar{\Pi}$  in order to reconstruct  $[\Pi\bar{\Pi}]\Pi^1$ . Although Allegro in his article ("Fragment", p. 351) and in his D.J.D. text (V, 53) does not mark this letter as being in doubt, an inspection of the photo of the fragment shows that Habermann's reading is probably correct. Also  $\bar{\Pi}$  and  $\bar{\Gamma}$  are nearly identical in many Qumran documents.
57. cf. F.F. Bruce, Second Thoughts on the Dead Sea Scrolls (2nd ed., London, Paternoster Press, 1966), pp. 40, 41, 71ff.
58. T.H. Gartner, "Belial", I.D.B., I, 377; cf., H.W. Huppenbauer, "Belial in den Qumrantexten", Th.Z. 15 (1959), 81-89.
59. P. von der Osten-Sacken, Gott und Belial: Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zum Dualismus in den Texten aus Qumran (St.U.N.T., 6, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1969).
60. Dupont-Sommer, p. 127; Allegro, "Fragments", p. 354, n. 32; Yadin, p. 98, n. 30.
61. Gärtner, p. 40. But this does not prove that "Shoot" should be taken collectively. See discussion above.
62. Although there were rebellions against the kings of Judah, none of these were on the world-wide scale envisaged by the psalmist in Ps. 2:1,2. Hence, the rebellion was a future event. cf. ch. I.

63. F.M. Cross, The Ancient Library of Qumran (rev. ed., New York, Doubleday and Co., 1961), p. 216. R.H. Gundry aptly notes that "Qumran ... stands in the midst of the fulfilment-process, where as the dominant New Testament perspective is that prophecies have already reached fulfilment." The Use of the Old Testament in St. Matthew's Gospel: With Special Reference to the Messianic Hope (Supp. to Nov. T. 18, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1967), p. 205. For a survey of Qumran eschatology see J. Pryke, "Eschatology in the Dead Sea Scrolls", The Scrolls and Christianity, pp. 45-57.
64. M. Black, "Messianic Doctrine in the Qumran Scrolls", Studia Patristica I (1957), 440-459 = (T.U. 63); R. Gordis, "The 'Begotten' Messiah in the Qumran Scrolls", V.T. 7 (1957), 191-194; H.N. Richardson, "Some Notes on IQSa", J.B.L. 76 (1957), 108-122; J. van der Ploeg, "The Meals of the Essenes", J.S.S. 2 (1957), 163-175; M. Smith, "'God's Begetting the Messiah' in IQSa", N.T.S. 5 (1958-59), 218-224; Y. Yadin, "A Crucial Passage in the Dead Sea Scrolls", J.B.L. 78 (1959), 238-241; E.F. Sutcliffe, "Sacred Meals at Qumran?", Hey.J. 1 (1960), 48-65 and "The Rule of the Congregation IQSa 2:11-12: Text and Meaning", R. Qum. 2 (1960), 541-547; J. Gnillka, "Das Gemeinschaftsmahl der Essener", B.Z. 5 (1961), 39-55; J.F. Priest, "The Messiah and the Meal in IQSa", J.B.L. 82 (1963), 95-100.
65. Sutcliffe, "The Rule ...", p. 544; cf. Dupont-Sommer for a critique of the position in D.J.D. I, 104, n. 1.
66. Gordis, p. 191.
67. D.J.D. I, 110, 117ff.
68. Cross, p. 87, n. 67.
69. Yadin, "A Crucial Passage ....", p. 241. The positions of K.G. Kuhn ("The Two Messiahs of Aaron and Israel", The Scrolls and the New Testament, p. 257, n. 13.), Vermes (p. 121) and M. Smith (p. 221) also need to be changed.
70. Cross, p. 87, n. 67.
71. Milik, D.J.D. I, 117.
72. Driver, p. 507.
73. Bruce, p. 87, n. 2.
74. Cross, p. 87.
75. Gordis, p. 192ff.
76. Sutcliffe, "The Rule ....", p. 543.
77. Black, The Scrolls and Christian Origins, p. 102.
78. Black, The Scrolls and Christian Origins, p. 102.
79. Allegro, The Dead Sea Scrolls, pp. 130, 170.

80. Dupont-Sommer, p. 108. Cross, Vermes, Milik and Barthélemy also connect the heading and the protasis (for references see previous footnotes).
81. Priest, p. 97.
82. M. Burrows, More Light on the Dead Sea Scrolls (London: Secker and Warburg, 1958), p. 385.
83. J. Pryke, "Eschatology in the Dead Sea Scrolls", The Scrolls and Christianity, p. 51.
84. Sutcliffe, "The Rule ....", p. 543.
85. Gordis, p. 194.
86. Driver, p. 509.
87. Smith argues for a break at IQSa 2:17. p. 219.
88. H.H. Rowley, From Moses to Qumran: Studies in the Old Testament (London: Lutterworth Press, 1963), p. 267.
89. Van der Ploeg accounts for everything in terms of ritual purity. p. 213.
90. Ap. and Ps., II, 859.
91. Cross, p. 90.
92. Black, The Scrolls and Christian Origins, pp. 112, 113.
93. Pryke, p. 52.
94. Bruce thinks that, "It is possible that the special meals at Qumran were in some sort regarded as anticipations of the future meal." p. 118.
95. J.T. Milik, Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea, trans. J. Strugnell (S.B.T. 26, London, S.C.M., 1959), p. 106.
96. Allegro, Dead Sea Scrolls, p. 131.
97. Fitzmyer, p. 298.
98. Stendahl, "The Scrolls and the New Testament: An Introduction and a Perspective", The Scrolls and the New Testament, p. 10.
99. Dupont-Sommer, p. 109, n. 1; cf., Burrows, p. 101.
100. See Priest for a different explanation. p. 97.
101. For those who hold this view see footnotes 92-99 plus Richardson. p. 112.
102. Black, The Scrolls and Christian Origins, p. 109.
103. Black, The Scrolls and Christian Origins, p. 109ff; Bruce, pp. 118, 119; Driver, p. 508.

104. Cross, p. 87, n. 63.
105. Cross, p. 87, n. 66.
106. See above for reconstruction of 2:11,12.
107. D. Barthélemy, D.J.D., I, 118. cf. Black, "Messianic Doctrine ....", p. 448, n. 1.
108. Black, "Messianic Doctrine ....", pp. 448, 458; Black, The Scrolls and Christian Origins, p. 149; Burrows, p. 303; O. Michel and O. Betz, "Von Gott gezeugt", Judentum, Urchristentum, Kirche: Festschrift für J. Jeremias, ed. W. Eltester (B.Z.N.W. 26, Berlin, Töpelmann, 1960), p. 11 and "Nocheinmal: 'Von Gott gezeugt' N.T.S. 9 (1962-63), 129-130; Dupont-Sommer, p. 108, n. 1; Rowley, p. 267, n. 4; Hahn, p. 283; Bruce, p. 87, n. 2; Pryke, p. 51.
109. J. Starcky, "Un texte messianique araméen de la grotte 4 de Qumrân", Ecole des langues orientales anciennes de l'Institut Catholique de Paris: Hémorial du cinquantième 1914-1964 (Travaux de l'Institut Catholique de Paris, Paris, Bloud et Gay, 1964), 51-66.
110. Fitzmyer, p. 143. See also J. Carmignac, "Les Horoscopes de Qumrân", R. Qum. 5 (1964-66), 199-217, esp. 206-217.
111. Fitzmyer, pp. 157-160.
112. Lövestam, pp. 65, 66.
113. For the text see Allegro, "Further Messianic References ...", pp. 174, 175.
114. Lövestam does not posit a direct allusion to פנ of Ps. 2:7. p. 65.
115. H.E. Ryle and M.R. James, ΨΑΛΜΟΙ ΣΟΛΩΜΩΝΤΟΣ : The Psalms of the Pharisees (Cambridge: University Press, 1891, p. 150. The numbering system used here is that of the Ap. and Ps. II.
116. O. Eissfeldt, The Old Testament: An Introduction, trans. P.R. Ackroyd (New York: Harper and Row, 1966), p. 612; Ryle and James, pp. xxxvii-xliv; G. Gray, "Psalms of Solomon", Ap. and Ps. II, 625; A-M. Denis, Introduction aux pseudépigraphes grecs d'ancien Testament (S.V.T.P. 1, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1970), p. 64; J. O'Dell, "The Religious Background of the Psalms of Solomon (Re-evaluated in the light of the Qumran Texts)". R. Qum. 3 (1961), 242. See O'Dell's list p. 242, n. 4. cf. M. Aberbach, "The Historical Allusions of Chapters IV, XI and XIII of the Psalms of Solomon", J.Q.R. 41 (1950-51), 379-396.
117. Eissfeldt, p. 613; M. Burrows, The Dead Sea Scrolls (London: Seckert and Warburg, 1956), pp. 221, 222; O'Dell, pp. 241-251; R. Wright, "The Psalms of Solomon, the Pharisees, and the Essenes", 1972 Proceedings for the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies and the Society of Biblical



## 117. (Contd.)

- Literature Pseudepigrapha Seminar, ed. R.A. Kraft (Septuagint and Cognate Studies 2), pp. 136-154; S. Holm-Nielsen, "Erwägungen zu dem Verhältnis zwischen den Hadajot und den Psalmen Salomos", Bibel und Qumran: Beiträge zur Erforschung der Bezeichnungen zwischen Bibel und Qumranwissenschaft, ed. S. Wagner (Berlin: Evangelische Haupt - Bibelgesellschaft, 1968), pp. 112-131.
118. Bissfeldt, p. 611; Gray, II, 625; O'Dell, p. 242, n. 4. For the discovery of the ninth Greek text see W. Baars, "A New Fragment of the Greek Version of the Psalms of Solomon", V.T. 11 (1961), 441-444.
119. James and Ryle, p. xc; P. Winter thinks that the translation may have been as early as 70 A.D. "Psalms of Solomon", I.D.B., III, 959.
120. Ryle and James, pp. 129, 130.
121. See the davidic-Shepherd-King tradition in ch. I.
122. For a more systematic summary of the Messiah and his reign in P.S. see Ryle and James. pp. lii-lvii. Their point concerning the uniting of the offices of king and priest is not clear. p. liv.
123. T.W. Manson has drawn attention to the fact that no sharp distinction was made between the religious and political spheres of life in this period of Jewish thought. The Servant-Messiah: A Study of the Public Ministry of Jesus (Cambridge: University Press, 1953), pp. 8-10.
124. Mowinckel, He That Cometh trans. G.W. Anderson (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1959), p. 286; Ryle and James, p. lv; D.S. Russell, The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic (O.T.L., London, S.C.M. 1964), 318; But some doubts are expressed on this point by M. de Jonge, "The Word 'Anointed' in the Time of Jesus", Nov. T. 7 (1964-65), 136, 137, n. 1.
125. For the relation of II Sam. 7 to Ps. 89 and the literature on the subject see ch. I.
126. This would seem to be the case since Ps. 88:5 (LXX) speaks only of "establishing" (ἐτοιμάσω) the seed of David while P.S. 17:23, 47 refers to the "raising up" (ἀνάστησον) of the seed which goes back to II Sam. 7:12 (ἀναστήσω τὸ σπέρμα σου).
127. Ryle and James, p. 2.
128. ἁμαρτωλοῦ is the reading adopted by Swete, III, 785; Gray II, 649; Rahlfs, II, 487 and O. von Gebhardt, ΨΑΛΜΟΙ ΣΟΛΟΜΩΝΤΟΣ: Die Psalmen Salomos zum ersten Male mit Benutzung der Athoshandschriften und des Codex Casanatensis (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche, 1895) = T.U. XIII (1895), 132. Ryle and James read ἁμαρτωλοῦς.



129. J.R. Harris, The Odes and Psalms of Solomon (Cambridge: University Press, 1909), p. 153.
130. On the question whether these verbs are to be taken as optatives or infinitives see Ryle and James, p. 138; J. Viteau, Les Psaumes de Salomon: Introduction, texte grec et traduction (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1911), pp. 352, 353; Gray, II, 649.
131. On the possible meanings of ὑπόστασις see Ryle and James, p. 115. A number of the words used in P.S. 15:7,8 are found in 17:26ff: ἁμαρτωλοῦς, ὁλοθρεύσαι, πᾶσαν ὑπόστασιν and ἀπὸ προσώπου. Apparently P.S. 17 has reworked P.S. 15 and added Ps. 2:9. IV Ezra 13:10 which is a reworking of Is. 11:4b has perhaps drawn upon P.S. 17:27 where Is. 11:4b is employed and upon the φλῆξ πυρός of P.S. 15:6 for a conflated reading: "out of his mouth as it were a fiery stream (fluctum ignis) and out of his lips a flaming breath (spiritum flammae)".
132. This is the only place in the LXX where  $\text{L} \square \text{W}$  is "translated" by λόγος. cf. I.L. Seeligmann The Septuagint Version of Isaiah: A Discussion of Its Problems (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1948), p. 119.
133. Chevallier, pp. 12, 13.
134. Ryle and James, p. 151.
135. Gray, II, 651; J. Wellhausen, Die Pharisäer und die Sadducäer (Greisswald: L. Bamberg, 1874), p. 164.
136. Ryle and James, p. 149.
137. I Kings 2:10; 12:3,5 (cf. Sirach 46:19(; 16:6; II Kings 22:51 (Ps. 17(18):51; Ps. 2:2; 19(20):7; 27(28):8; Amos 4:13.
138. Eissfeldt, p. 597.
139. For an extensive bibliography of texts and works on Sirach see F. Vattioni, Ecclesiastico: Testo ebraico con apparato critico e versioni greca, latina e siraca (Istituto Orientale di Napoli, Seminario di Semitistica, 1968), pp. xli; G. Dellling, Bibliographie zur jüdisch-hellenistischen und intertestamentarischen Literatur 1900-1965 T.U. 106 (1969), 82-84.
140. Eissfeldt, p. 599.
141. Eissfeldt, p. 597.
142. Ap. and Ps., I, 497.
143. See Facsimiles of the Fragment Hitherto Recovered of the Book of Ecclesiasticus (Oxford and Cambridge: University Press, 1901).
144. I. Levi, The Hebrew Text of the Book of Ecclesiasticus (3rd ed., S.S.S., Leiden, E.J. Brill 1969), p. 65.
145. A.E. Cowley and A. Neubauer, The Original Hebrew of a Portion of Ecclesiasticus (Oxford: University Press, 1897), p. 34.

146. S.R. Driver, "Hebrew Notes on Sirach", J.B.L. 34 (1953), 286.
147. Vattioni, p. 257.
148. M. Segal,  $\alpha\beta\omega\pi\chi\gamma\delta\epsilon\zeta\eta\theta$  (Jerusalem: M. Bealeq, 1953), p. 324.
149. R. Smend, Die Weisheit des Jesus Sirach (Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1906), p. 452.
150.  $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$  in other texts is read -  $\lambda\epsilon\omega\varsigma$  , -  $\lambda\epsilon\iota\alpha\varsigma$  -  $\lambda\epsilon\iota\omega\nu$  .
151. Chevallier, p. 27.
152. Lövestam, p. 61, n. 3.
153. L. Allen, "The Old Testament Background of  $(\tau\tau\rho\omicron)\acute{o}\pi\iota\zeta\epsilon\iota\eta$  in the New Testament", N.T.S. 17 (1970-71), 104.
154. A. Caquot, "Ben Sir et le messianisme", Sem. 16 (1966), 55.
155. J.G. Snaith, "Biblical Quotations in the Hebrew of Ecclesiasticus", J.Th.S. 18 (1967), 1-11.
156. So Th. Middendorp, Die Stellung Jesu ben Siras zwischen Judentum und Hellenismus (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1973), pp. 117, n. 2, 174. For another non-messianic use of II Sam. 7 see Jubilees 1:25.
157. For a discussion of messianic passages in Sirach see the article by Caquot and T.W.N.T. IX, 502, 503.
158. Eissfeldt, pp. 601, 602; Holmes, Ap. and Ps. I, 519; B.M. Metzger, An Introduction to the Apocrypha (New York: Oxford University Press, 1957), p. 67; J. Geyer, The Wisdom of Solomon: Introduction and Commentary (London: S.C.M. Press, 1963), p. 17 and especially the recent, detailed analysis by J.M. Reese, Hellenistic Influence on the Book of Wisdom and Its Consequences (An.Bib. 41, Rome, Biblical Institute Press, 1970).
159. J.W. Deane, The Book of Wisdom (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1881), p. 140; J.A.F. Gregg, The Wisdom of Solomon (C.B.S.C., Cambridge, University Press, 1909), p. 55; Holmes, I, 543; Chevallier, p. 40, n. 6; Reese, p. 149, n. 83.
160. B.M.F. van Iersel, 'Der Sohn' in den synoptischen Jesusworten: Christusbezeichnung der Gemeinde oder Selbstbezeichnung Jesu? (Supp. to Nov. T. 3, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1961), pp. 75-77.
161. Gregg, p. 55; Reese, p. 149, n. 83.
162. van Iersel, p. 76.
163. M.J. Suggs ("Wisdom of Solomon 2:10-5: A Homily on the Fourth Servant Song", J.B.L. 76 (1957), 26-33) has suggested that this passage is a homily on the fourth servant song of Isaiah; but Reese argues that although the author may be using material from Isaiah, its purpose is that of helping to generalize about the fate of the Jews. p. 113.

164. W. Zimmerli and J. Jeremias, The Servant of God (S.T.B. 20, rev. ed., London, S.C.M. Press, 1965), p. 46.
165. The whole of chs. 1-5 is a contrast of the life and rewards of the righteous and the ungodly. See Wid. 2:10,12,18; 3:1,10,16; 5:1,15. Chs. 2 and 5 are not messianic but didactic, i.e. their purpose "is to prove that physical death cannot prevent a just man from achieving the true purpose of his existence." Reese, p. 113. cf. Geyer, p. 65; Gregg, p. 18; Schweizer, T.D.N.T. VIII, 354,355,378. A detailed study of this passage with a view to its messianic nature has been recently published by M. Adinolfi, "Il messianismo di Sap. 2:12-20", A.S.B. 18 (1966) 205-17 (unavailable).
166. This is not to deny that personal eschatology is involved here. cf. Reese, pp. 109-114.
167. For a general survey of the messianic question in IV Ezra see M.E. Stone, "The Concept of the Messiah in IV Ezra", Studies in the History of Religions (Supp. 14 to Numen, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1968), 295-312.
168. De Jonge, "Χρῖς κτλ", T.W.N.T. IX, 507, n. 126. Klausner thinks the "my son" is from Ps. 2:7 and firmly denies Christian interpolation. pp. 354, n. 19; 358, n. 3.
169. Zimmerli and Jeremias, p. 51, n. 196.
170. B. Violet, Die Apokalypsen des Esra und des Baruch (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1924), p. 74.
171. Zimmerli and Jeremias, p. 51, n. 196.
172. Hahn, p. 282, also E. Lohse, "ὁῖς κτλ" T.D.N.T. VIII, 361.
173. Fuller, p. 32. He thinks that filius meus "is a mistranslation of the Greek παῖς", but would it not be possible that παῖς had been changed to ὁῖς in the transmission of the MS? Thus filius meus might be a correct translation of ὁῖς μου.
174. Translation in Zimmerli and Jeremias, p. 51, n. 196. See Violet, p. 74.
175. J. Bloch, "Some Christological Interpolations in the Ezra.-Apocalypse", H.Th.R. 51 (1958), 87-94. cf. Klausner, p. 354, n. 19.
176. Kruijf, p. 21.
177. Grelot, p. 30.
178. For 4QpsDan A<sup>a</sup> see footnote 268.
179. Eissfeldt, p. 626.
180. Fuller, p. 37.
181. See the forthcoming D.J.D. volume by J.T. Milik and M. Black.

182. For a recent survey of some of the problems see J.C. Hindley, "Towards a Date for the Similitudes of Enoch: An Historical Approach", N.T.S. 14 (1968), 551-565.
183. I Enoch 52:4 does not reflect the influence of Ps. 2:2 although it uses "his Anointed".
184. Charles, Ap. and Ps., II, 217; contra Dalman who wishes to delete this phrase. p. 269.
185. Chevallier thinks that ch. 46 contains traces of Ps. 2, but these are very vague. pp. 17ff.
186. De Jonge, "Use of the Word 'Anointed' in the Time of Jesus", pp. 142-144 and "Χρίω", T.W.N.T. IX, 505.
187. Lövestam, p. 16.
188. Charles, Ap. and Ps., II, 211; Zimmerli and Jeremies, p. 60; Dalman, however, thinks "Chosen One" reflects Ps. 89:3,19. p. 269.
189. See de Jonge's caution concerning the idea of a fusion between two messianic figures. "Use of the Word 'Anointed' in the Time of Jesus", p. 144.
190. J.W. Doeve, Jewish Hermeneutics in the Synoptic Gospels and Acts (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1954), pp. 5-51.
191. M. McNamara, Targum and Testament: Aramaic Paraphrases of the Hebrew Bible: A Light on the New Testament. (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1972), p. 14. See J. Fitzmyer's review of M. McNamara's The New Testament and the Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch (An.Bib. 27, Rome, Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1966) in T.S. 29 (1968), 321-326 and A.D. York, "The Dating of Targumic Literature", J.S.J. 5 (1974), 49-62.
192. McNamara, Targum and Testament, p. 85.
193. J. Neusner, The Rabbinic Traditions about the Pharisees before 70 A.D. (3 vols., Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1971).
194. For distinguishing older traditions in the Talmudic literature see R. Bloch, "Midrash", D.B.S. V (1957), cols. 1263-1281.
195. The Babylonian Talmud, ed. I. Epstein (35 vols., London, Soncino Press, 1935), pp. 8,9. This saying is credited to R. Jose (about 200 A.D.). Abbreviated hereafter as Bab.T. Soncino ed.
196. מדרש רב, ed. E. Epstein (8 vols., Tel.-Aviv. 1956-63), V, 352. Abbreviated hereafter as Midr. R. Tel-Aviv; Midrash Rabbah, ed. H. Freedman and M. Simon (10 vols., London, Soncino Press, 1939), IV, 356. Abbreviated hereafter as Midr. R. Soncino ed.
197. Midr. R. Soncino ed., IX, 101.

198. The Midrash on Psalms, trans. W.G. Braude (Yale Judaica Series XII in 2 vols., New Heaven, Conn., Yale University Press, 1959), I, 37,38; II, 384. Referred to hereafter as Braude. Concerning the history of Midrash Tehillim, J. Bowker acknowledges that it is more confused and uncertain than most other rabbinic works. There is evidence (Gen. R. 33:3) that as early as the second century A.D. there was some collected works of interpretation on the Psalms, but the compilation of this Midrash in its present form is nearer the seventh century A.D. Bowker argues that, "It seems better to think in terms of a process of gradual extension and accretion", and therefore "the individual elements ... of this Midrash need to be considered carefully in their own right." The Targums and Rabbinic Literature: An Introduction to Jewish Interpretation of Scripture (Cambridge: University Press, 1969), p. 89.
199. Braude, I, 37. Credited to R. Levi (about 200 A.D.).
200. Braude, II, 118.
201. Midr. R. Tel-Aviv, IV, 641; Midr. R. Soncino ed., III, 566. Braude places this work at the 7th century A.D. pp. 79,80.
202. Midr. R. Tel-Aviv, V, 352; Midr. R. Soncino ed., IV, 356.
203. Braude, I, 37.
204. Braude, I, 526.
205. Midr. R. Tel-Aviv, IV, 641; Midr. R. Soncino ed., III, 566.
206. Braude, I, 526.
207. "Berakoth", Hebrew-English Edition of the Babylonian Talmud, ed. I. Epstein (London: Soncino Press, 1960), 7<sup>p</sup>, 10<sup>a</sup>. Berak. 7<sup>b</sup> is credited to R. Simeon b. Yochai (about 150 A.D.) and Berak. 10<sup>a</sup> is credited to R. Jochanan (about 280 A.D.). cf. Bab. T. Soncino ed., pp. 36,51.
208. Braude, I, 50; II, 239, 240.
209. Pesikta de Rav Kahana, ed. B. Mandelbaum (2 vols., New York, Jewish Theological Seminary, 1962), I, 159, lines 3-6; "Pesikta des Rab Kahana", Bibliotheca Rabbinica : Eine Sammlung alter Midrashim, trans. A. Wünsche (Leipzig : O. Schulze, 1885), p. 101. A parallel passage is found in Midr. Ps. 2 & 4 (Braude, I, 38). For date of Pes. K. see Bowker, pp. 74-76.
210. Midr. R. Tel-Aviv, III, 3; Midr. R. Soncino ed., III, 3.
211. Midr. R. Tel-Aviv, V, 352; Midr. R. Soncino ed., IV, 356.
212. See St.-Bil., II, 633. This is credited to R. Jose the Galilean (about 110 A.D.).
213. Midrash Tanchuma, ed. S. Buber (5 vols. in 2, Tel-Aviv, 1963-64 reprint of 1885 ed.), I, 53. This is credited to R. Aibo (about 320 A.D.) who spoke in the name of R. Eliezer b. Jose the Galilean (about 150 A.D.). cf. St.-Bil., II, 633.



214. "Hagada zur Genesis", Bet ha-Midrash, ed. A. Jellinek (4 vols., Leipzig, C.W. Vollrath, 1857), IV, 5. cf. St.-Bil., III, 674. Bowker places this compilation in the 10th century. p. 74.
215. "Der Midrash zum Buche Esther", Bibliotheca Rabbinica : Eine Sammlung alter Midraschim, trans. A. Wünsche (Leipzig : O. Schulze, 1881), p. 60. cf. St.-Bil., III, 674. A very late compilation. Bowker, p. 84, n. 2.
216. Midr. R. Soncino ed., IX, 101. Credited to R. Levi (about 200 A.D.).
217. See St.-Bil., III, 831-840; J. Bonsirven, Le judaïsme palestinien au temps de Jesus-Christ (2 vols., Paris, Beauchesne, 1934), II, 460-465; K.G. Kuhn, "Γῶγ καὶ Μαγῶγ", T.D.N.T., I, 789-791; J. Klausner, The Messianic Idea in Israel, trans. W.F. Stinespring (3rd ed., London, Allen and Unwin, 1956), pp. 483-501. For other uses of Gog by itself see LXX of Lev. 24:17; Deut. 3:1B; 4:47B, Amos 7:1; Sirach 48:17 and in D.S.S. see IQM 11:16. For other uses of Magog by itself see LXX of Gen. 10:2; I Chr. 1:15 and in D.S.S. see 4QIs<sup>d</sup>4.
218. McNamara, Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch, p. 236. cf. Sibylline Oracles III, 319, 512 where Gog and Magog are linked. But the dating of this is uncertain.
219. E. Lohse calls this the oldest instance of the use of Ps. 2:7 in Rabbinic literature. T.D.N.T., VIII, 362. Klausner describes this text as "unquestionably Tannaitic". p. 489.
220. Sukkah, Bab.T. Soncino ed., p. 247. cf. Lövestam, p. 19; G. Dalman, The Words of Jesus, trans. D.M. Kay (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark 1902), p. 269.
221. Midr. R. Tel-Aviv, I, 322; Midr. R. Soncino ed., I, 365, 366. cf. Lövestam, p. 20; Dalman, p. 271.
222. Braude, I, 42.
223. Braude, I, 41.
224. Dalman, p. 271.
225. E. Huntress, "Son of God in Jewish Writings", J.B.L. 54 (1935), 121.
226. Lövestam, p. 21, n. 2.
227. Braude, I, 40f. In section 10, Ps. 2:8 is applied to Israel.
228. Yalqut (2 vols., Warsaw, 1877), II, 881. Referred to hereafter as Yalqut. cf. St.-Bil., III, 18, 19. This is a late compilation, but it does contain some early materials.
229. This kind of weakening is also found in the Targums on Jer. 31:9 and on Is. 45:11 where the son is Israel. cf. St.-Bil., III, 15.
230. Braude, I, 41.
231. Dalman, p. 271.



232. Braude, I, 40,41.
233. Braude, I, 41.
234. Lövestam cites a slightly different version of this tradition from Yalqut Shim. where Is. 53:5 is cited p. 42 cf. A. Neubauer and S.R. Driver, The Fifty-Third Chapter of Isaiah according to Jewish Interpreters (2 vols., Oxford, J. Parker, 1876), I, 8; II, 10.
235. Lövestam, p. 43.
236. Sukkah, Bab. T. Sonico ed., p. 247.
237. For discussion of the relation of these two figures see the bibliography in Lövestam, p. 19, n. 5.
238. In Midr. Ps. 2 & 10 the gift of life is applied to Israel rather than to the Messiah.
239. Braude, I, 42, 43.
240. Midr. R. Tel-Aviv, I, 105; Midr. R. Soncino ed., I, 115.
241. Braude, II, 293.
242. Midr. R. Soncino ed., I, 906. Heb. text not printed in Tel-Aviv ed.
243. Yalqut, II, 881. cf. St.-Bil., III, 677. The Messiah in Yalqut b. Joseph. Thus it appears that Gen. R. preserves the older tradition.
244. Dalman, pp. 271ff.
245. W. Bousset, Kyrios Christos trans. J.E. Steely (New York: Abingdon, 1970), pp. 92,93.
246. J. Jeremias, The Parables of Jesus, trans. S.H. Hooke (London: S.C.M., 1954), p. 57.
247. Hooker, p. 69.
248. Hahn, p. 279.
249. Fuller, p. 32.
250. Lövestam, p. 21.
251. Longenecker, p. 94.
252. Gerhardsson, p. 23.
253. R. Bultmann, Theology of the New Testament, trans. K. Grobel (2 vols., London, S.C.M., 1952), I, 50.
254. O. Cullmann, The Christology of the New Testament, trans. S.C. Guthrie and C.A.M. Hall (London: S.C.M., 1959), pp. 274, 278-282.
255. Huntress, p. 122.

256. See C. Bonner, The Last Chapters of Enoch in Greek (St.D. 8, London, Christophers, 1937), p. 4.
257. Fitzmyer, Essays on the Semitic Background of the New Testament, p. 121, n. 10. Fitzmyer has recently published Milik's text (4Qps Dan A<sup>a</sup> = 4Q243 ). On the basis of this publication Fitzmyer asserts that although the text speaks of "Son of God" (2:1) and "son of the Great God" (1:9), it does not specifically call the son a messiah or anointed one. Since Fitzmyer indicates that Milik will "publish the text shortly in the H.T.R.", it is best to await this publication before any final decision is made about the titular use of "Son of God" for Messiah on the basis of this text. "Qumran Aramaic and the New Testament", N.T.S. 20 (1974), 391ff.
258. Fuller, p. 32.

### Chapter III

#### A STUDY OF PSALM 2:1,2 IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

## I. Introduction

This chapter is the first of three chapters dealing with the use of Ps. 2 in the N.T. First, the quotation of Ps. 2:1,2 in Acts 4:25,26 is considered in some detail, and then the allusions to Ps. 2:2 in Acts 3:18 (4:5) and in Mt. 24:33 (26:3,57; 27:62) are considered.<sup>1</sup> The allusions to Ps. 2:1,2 in Revelation are taken up in ch. V. This study commences with a brief survey of the recent criticism of the speeches (and thus the prayers) of Acts.

## II. Recent Criticism and the Speeches (Prayers) of Acts<sup>2</sup>

The book of Acts has been aptly described by van Unnik as a "storm center in contemporary scholarship". In light of this, the discussion of one aspect of this "storm" must be introductory and tentative. It is certainly well beyond the scope of this study to do more than to outline the position taken here and to indicate the supporting reasons. The prayer of Acts 4 is similar to a speech.<sup>3</sup> The crucial question in regard to the speeches and prayers of Acts concerns the amount of pre-Lukan tradition incorporated in them. Are these speeches and prayers inventions of Luke (i.e. Lukan compositions) with perhaps a trace of tradition that served as a point of departure<sup>4</sup> or do they substantially reproduce traditions which have been taken up by Luke and cast into his own vocabulary and style?<sup>5</sup> Six aspects of this problem will be briefly reviewed.

A. There is the analogy of ancient historiography (usually Thucydides) which to some<sup>6</sup> suggests that Luke<sup>7</sup> placed in the mouth of his speakers those ideas which he considered to be appropriate. This position has not gone unchallenged. First, the interpretation of the well-known statement of Thucydides (The Peloponnesian War I, 22, 1) about his intention and procedure in writing speeches for his history is disputed. Grant,<sup>8</sup> Adcock<sup>9</sup> and Glasson<sup>10</sup> point out that this statement cannot be used as proof of intentional free composition because Thucydides says that he either heard the speech or used a report. Thus he kept as closely as possible to "the general sense of what was spoken".<sup>11</sup> Secondly, Gärtner argues for a greater emphasis upon the Jewish rather than the Greek tradition as the proper background for Luke's historical method.<sup>12</sup>

B. Sources of Acts. Luke 1:1-4 makes it clear that Luke used

sources in the writing of his Gospel. In reference to the sources of Acts, Dupont concludes that, "Despite the most careful and detailed research, it has not been possible to define any of the sources used by the author of Acts in a way which will meet with widespread agreement among the critics."<sup>13</sup> This conclusion does not exclude the possibility that Luke utilized sources: it only means that no longer with certainty can they be identified. If Mark and Matthew were not available, it would also be very difficult to find a consensus on the sources of Luke's Gospel.<sup>14</sup>

Torrey advances the theory that Acts 1-15 was translated from written Aramaic sources,<sup>15</sup> but few have been willing to go this far. Black holds that Aramaisms are insufficient to prove an Aramaic source.<sup>16</sup> Wilcox concludes his study of the semitisms of Acts with the observation that for the book as a whole the "evidence we have here does not justify or even suggest the actual direct use by Luke of Semitic documentary sources." On the other hand, in the case of speech-material Wilcox believes that, "Luke seems to be drawing on a source of some kind, at least for his O.T. quotations and allusions."<sup>17</sup>

C. Closely related to this second point is the matter of Lukan style and theology. In his redaction-critical study of Luke-Acts Marshall correctly observes that Luke has thoroughly rewritten his sources in his own vocabulary and style. Thus "the presence of Lukan characteristics in a passage is in itself no proof that sources are not being use."<sup>18</sup> The question about the uniformity in the structure and theology of the speeches deserves more attention. E. Schweizer<sup>19</sup> argues that an "analytical survey of the speeches shows, with due recognition of differences in content, a far-reaching identity of structure."<sup>20</sup> This leads Schweizer to conclude that the speeches are due to Lukan composition.



At first sight this position is impressive, but 1) his categories such as "direct address", "appeal for attention", "pointing out a misunderstanding", "use of O.T. quotations", "christological Kerygma" and "call for repentance", to name the major ones, would appear to be the obvious matters to include in any evangelistic address by a Peter or a Paul. 2) The use of O.T. quotations is not surprising: indeed, something of a uniform use of the O.T. (note Ps. 16:10 in Acts 2,13) is to be expected if Dodd's theory of a selection and an interpretation of certain O.T. passages by the early church is allowed to stand.<sup>21</sup> 3) A uniform christological kerygma is not unexpected if Dodd's theory of the kerygma is correct.<sup>22</sup> 4) Schweizer and Wilckens have both completely left out of account the speech of Stephen because it is a special case, but this is exactly the point. 5) The order of these items varies a great deal from speech to speech and 6) in several of the speeches only a few of the items are present. 7) This similarity of structure, which Schweizer uses to point toward Lukan composition, could equally point toward Luke's editorial work on his sources and/or toward the influence of a common Jewish homily pattern.<sup>23</sup>

D. More crucial is the question of the theology of the speeches of Acts. Is there a uniform Lukan theology or are there distinctive theologies pointing to diverse traditions? The prime example of distinctive theological motifs pointing to the utilization of traditions is to be found in Stephen's speech of Acts 7. The three major, recent investigations of this speech (Simon,<sup>24</sup> Arichea,<sup>25</sup> Scharlemann<sup>26</sup>) agree that traditional material is to be found in this speech. Indeed, Scharlemann states that the speech reflects "a tradition that goes back to the first of the Seven, representing his personal theological views".<sup>27</sup> This piece of evidence places

a question mark over the idea of a uniform Lukan theology in the speeches. Wilckens argues that Stephen's speech is a special case to be set aside, yet he admits that traditional materials have been used in the speeches of Acts 14 and 17.<sup>28</sup> Such an admission leads Marshall to comment that, "If Luke has used tradition here [Acts 14,17], it is probable that he has also used it elsewhere."<sup>29</sup> Furthermore, when one speaks of Lukan theology, it must at least theoretically be admitted that, "Luke's theology may be the theology of his sources to a much greater extent than is often allowed."<sup>30</sup> Furthermore, Moule, in an essay on "The Christology of Acts", notes that 1) there are theological variations within the speeches of Acts and 2) at least for the speeches of Paul, there is evidence that they agree at certain crucial points with Pauline theology. The latter point will be expanded in the discussion of Paul's speech in Act 13 (ch. IV). The first point is illustrated by Moule from the expression "the Church of the Lord which he obtained with his own blood" (Acts 20:38). Moule states that, "Whether one reads 'God' or 'the Lord', and whether one renders the ambiguous words as 'his own blood' or 'the blood of his Own', in any case the phrase contains an allusion to the death of Christ as redemptive — blood by which a 'purchase' is achieved. But in Acts this is the solitary exception. Otherwise the death of Christ is represented simply as turned into triumph or vindication by the resurrection."<sup>31</sup>

E. Also in opposition to the alleged Lukan composition of the speeches is the occasional use of a non-LXX text and of Jewish hermeneutical patterns. De Waard argues that the LXX alone is not sufficient to explain the textual phenomena of the quotations in Acts. This he attempts to demonstrate for the O.T. quotations found

in Acts 3:22,23; 7:43; 13:41 and 15:16 where there are striking affinities to the textual traditions found in the D.S.S.<sup>32</sup>

Furthermore, there are examples of exegesis of O.T. quotations in Acts that reflect Jewish hermeneutics. Although this has been taken to an extreme in Doeve's Jewish Hermeneutics in the Synoptic Gospels and Acts,<sup>33</sup> some of his insights are valid. Later in this study, evidence will be adduced to demonstrate that the exegesis of Ps. 2:1,2 in Acts 4 is an example of Jewish hermeneutics.

F. One final argument against the use of tradition in the speeches is brought into focus by Evans. In the light of form-criticism, he asserts that there is a "difficulty of envisaging ... a Sitz im Leben for the repetition and preservation of the speeches of the apostles."<sup>34</sup> But Jervell, who gives careful attention to details in the Pauline epistles which indicate that there was a Sitz im Leben that called for the preservation and handing down of the deeds and words of the early church, concludes that, "The question whether conditions were favourable for the formation of a tradition about apostolic times must be answered wholly in the affirmative."<sup>35</sup>

In the light of this brief survey, it seems fair to conclude that the case for the position that the speeches of Acts are primarily, if not wholly, the product of Lukan composition is not overwhelming. Indeed, one is justified in assuming that there is a relatively high probability that traditions have been used in the writing up of the speeches and prayers of Acts. The amount of traditional material found in any one speech or prayer cannot be concluded without a detailed study of the speech or prayer itself. Thus in the study of the prayer in Acts 4, attention will be given to this question.

### III. Acts 4:25-28

#### A. Introduction

This study takes up the following aspects of the quotation of Ps. 2:1,2 in Acts 4:25ff: introductory formula (IF) and text form, contribution and function, hermeneutical stance and techniques. This analysis is lengthy because Acts 4:23-31 has not received detailed attention, this passage, unlike the other N.T. citations of Ps. 2, gives a detailed exegesis of vss. 1,2 and the pre-Christian Jewish use of Ps. 2:1,2 in 4QFlor has not been fully explored or utilized in the understand of Acts 4:25ff.

#### B. Introductory Formula and Text Form

The IF of the quotation of Ps. 2:1,2 in vs. 25a contains two problems. First, there is the textual problem of vs. 25a ( *ὁ τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου στόματος Δαυὶδ παῖδός σου εἰπῶν* ). This impossible Greek contains a primitive error. Of the many conjectures put forward<sup>36</sup> none has widely commended itself as the solution to this crux interpretum. In this study there is no attempt to rehearse all of the old arguments and positions or to propose any new solution. Most would agree with Barrett that, "The Greek here is notoriously obscure, but the main point is not in doubt."<sup>37</sup> The main point is that God is here represented as speaking by the Holy Spirit through the mouth of David. The stress falls upon God.<sup>38</sup>

Secondly, in the IF it is not surprising to find the idea that God (cf. Acts 3:21, 7:6) spoke through David (Acts 1:16, 2:25,34; 13:35; Mark. 12:36 para.; Rom. 4:6, 11:9; Heb. 4:7), but the occurrence of (*διὰ*) *στόματος Δαυὶδ* is most striking.<sup>39</sup> The concept of God speaking *διὰ στόματος τινος*

occurs five times in the N.T. — all of which are found in Lk.-Acts.<sup>40</sup> Did Luke take over this IF from his sources or did it come from his own contemporary church situation? It is suggested that this phrase occurs in the Epistle of Barnabas 11:8<sup>41</sup>: "But as for the present, what does he say? 'The leaves will not wither'. He is saying this, that every word which flows forth from you — through your mouth — in faith and love ( ὅτι πᾶν ῥῆμα ὃ ἐὰν ἐξελεύσεται ἐξ ὑμῶν διὰ στόματος ὑμῶν ) will be a means of conversion and hope to many."<sup>42</sup> This is not an IF nor is God speaking through human agency. This is an explanation of Ps. 1 in which it is stated that words said in faith and love lead to the conversion of others (cf. Acts 15:7).<sup>43</sup> Hence, Barnabas does not provide any evidence of the use of the IF in a later Christian period. On the other hand, there are two places in the O.T. where the Word of the Lord is spoken through the mouth of a man:<sup>44</sup> II Chron. 36:21

יהוה דבר בפי ירמיהו, λόγον κυρίου διὰ στόματος  
 ιερემίου and II. Chron. 36:22, Heb. same as vs. 21, ῥῆμα  
 κυρίου διὰ στόματος ιερემίου .<sup>45</sup> It could  
 be argued that διὰ στόματος τινος should be counted  
 as Lukan composition, but Wilcox points out that the formula is  
 confined to Luke 1 and Acts 1-4<sup>46</sup> — this is exactly where Semitic  
 sources are most probable. Furthermore, if this IF is due to  
 Lukan composition, why is it not found throughout Luke-Acts?  
 Whatever is the correct explanation of the source of this IF, it  
 should be observed that its use in Acts 4:25, to introduce Ps. 2:1,2,  
 and in Acts 1:16; 3:18 is in terms of prophecy — fulfillment.

Text of Ps. 2:1,2 in Acts 4:25b,26.

Ἰνατί<sup>47</sup> ἐφρούαξαν<sup>48</sup> ἔθνη  
 καὶ λαοὶ ἐμελέτησαν κενά<sup>49</sup>

παρέστησαν οἱ βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς  
καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες συνήχθησαν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ<sup>50</sup>  
κατὰ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ κατὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ  
αὐτοῦ

The quotation of Ps. 2:1,2 in Acts 4:25b,26 agrees exactly with the LXX. With the possible exception of συνήχθησαν<sup>51</sup>, the LXX is a straightforward translation of the M.T. What conclusions can be drawn from the fact that here the quotation corresponds exactly to the LXX? As a general principle Fuller asserts that, "The use of LXX in O.T. quotations affords a highly important clue for the identification of the Jewish Hellenistic stratum ...."<sup>52</sup> Yet this "highly important clue" is somewhat negated by Fuller's qualification that, "This must be applied with some care, for it is always possible that an earlier Hebrew quotation from the Palestinian stratum has been deliberately altered to conform to the LXX."<sup>53</sup> It is further called in question by the recent studies that object to drawing a sharp distinction between Palestinian Jewish and Hellenistic Jewish milieu<sup>54</sup> and by other studies based upon recent archaeocological discoveries<sup>55</sup> and literary analyses<sup>56</sup> which argue that Greek was spoken by common people in Palestine in the first century A.D. Even if it is decided that the common Christians of the primitive Palestinian church could not speak or write Greek, the most that should be asserted for the use of the LXX is that the LXX text form in a quotation is only valid as a tool for determining a later Hellenistic Jewish stratum when 1) the LXX differs from the Semitic version and 2) the point of deviation from the Semitic text is pivotal to the argument.<sup>57</sup>



## C. Contribution and Function of Ps. 2:1,2

### 1. Context

It is generally accepted that Acts 2-5 constitutes a single unit. The theme of chs. 2-5 is the proclamation of Christ's death and resurrection (exaltation)<sup>58</sup> by men filled with the Holy Spirit<sup>59</sup>, in the name of Jesus<sup>60</sup> and with boldness (παρρησία).<sup>61</sup> This preaching was attested (cf. 2:22) by signs (σημεῖα<sup>62</sup>) and wonders (τέρατα<sup>63</sup>) which often took the form of healings<sup>64</sup> in the name of Jesus.<sup>65</sup> The ministry was acceptable to the populace,<sup>66</sup> but the Jewish leaders were "annoyed because they were teaching the people and proclaiming in Jesus the resurrection from the dead" (4:2). Thus Peter and John were arrested, put in custody, brought before the Sanhedrin (4:1-12) and finally warned<sup>67</sup> (4:17,21) and charged "not to speak or teach at all in the name of Jesus" (4:17,18). It is at this point that the prayer of the community occurs. The prayer is followed by a general summary (4:32-36), the contrasting accounts of the gift of Barnabas and the gift of Ananias and Sapphira (4:36-5:11), a summary (5:12-16) and the second persecution by the Jewish authorities (5:17-42).

### 2. Structure

a. The Structure of Acts 4:23-31 as a whole. The pattern of this paragraph is very straightforward: Peter and John reported (vs. 23) to "their own" what was said to them by the chief priests and elders, the believers raised their voice together to God in prayer (vss. 24-30) and God answered (vs. 31) their prayer in terms of a shaking of the place and boldness to speak. The paragraph emphasizes what the various parties said: what the chief priests and elders said (ἐῖπεν, vs. 23), what the community said (ἐῖπεν, vs. 24) and

what God through David said (ἐπιών, vs. 25).

b. The Jewish structure of the prayer. Moule in his analysis of the structure of this prayer writes that "the phrases fall into typically Jewish form".<sup>68</sup> There are striking parallels between the community prayer in Acts 4 and the prayer of Hezekiah (Is. 37:16-20, cf. II Kings 19:15-19).<sup>69</sup> The occasion of both prayers is similar: an enemy (Sennacherib, Is. 37:17; Sanhedrin, Acts 4:15, cf. 4:1,5) is threatening the Lord's Anointed (Hezekiah, Is. 36:4ff; the Christian community is related to the Lord's Anointed, see below on this point) with words (Is. 36:4-21; 37:4,6,17; Acts 4:17,18,21,23,29). In reference to structure both prayers begin with praise to God (Is. 37:16; Acts 4:24b-28) followed by a petition (Is. 37:17-20; Acts 4:29,30). In terms of content both prayers address God as σὺ (ὁ is added in Acts 4:24b) ἐποίησας (ποίησας, Acts) τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν (Is. 37:16; Acts 4:24), both prayers use the phrase ἐπ' ἀληθείας ("of a truth, Lord, the kings of the Assyrians have laid waste all the nations", Is. 37:18; "for truly in this city ...", Acts 4:27), both ask the Lord to look upon the threats of the enemy (εἰσβλεψον, κύριε, καὶ ἴδε τοὺς λόγους οὓς ἀπέστειλεν Σενναχωριμ, Is. 37:17; ἔπιδε ἐπὶ τὰς ἀπειλὰς αὐτῶν, Acts 4:29) and both use a similar phrase (καὶ νῦν κύριε, IV Kings 19:19, cf. νῦν δέ κύριε, B text of Is. 37:20; καὶ τὰ νῦν κύριε, Acts 4:29) to indicate the beginning of a petition. Such striking parallels in occasion, structure and content indicate that the prayer does indeed "fall into typically Jewish form". It is possible that the early community<sup>70</sup> recognized in the threats of their enemy a parallel to Hezekiah's experience and deliberately used his prayer as a paradigm.

c. Relation of praise and petition in the prayer. The praise (vss. 24-28) depicts a God who is able to grant the petition (vss. 29,30). In this case what is needed is a sovereign God who can accomplish his will in the midst of enemy opposition. Thus God is addressed as "Sovereign Lord" (  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\pi\omicron\tau\alpha$  <sup>71</sup>) who is powerful enough to create the world ("who made...", vs. 24b<sup>72</sup>) and now continues to control the affairs of men as is indicated in the prophecy (Ps. 2:1,2) — fulfillment of vss. 25-28. The phrase  $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\grave{\alpha}\ \nu\tilde{\upsilon}\nu$  (vs. 29), which is found only in Acts<sup>73</sup>, signals the shift from the praise to God (vss. 24-28) to the petition to God (vss. 29,30), from the past to the present. The use of the same phrase in Acts 5:38 is most instructive.<sup>74</sup> Gamaliel first recounts two cases in which a "Messiah" came to nothing (vs. 33-37) and then he applies the principle (vss. 38-40) found in these past events to the present situation. The shift from past to present, from illustration of the principle to application of the principle is signalled by the  $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\grave{\alpha}\ \nu\tilde{\upsilon}\nu$  of 5:38 ("So in the present case...", R.S.V.). This is precisely the use of  $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\grave{\alpha}\ \nu\tilde{\upsilon}\nu$  in Acts 4:29 where a past event ("for truly in this city there were gathered together against thy holy servant Jesus ... both Herod and Pontius Pilate, with the Gentiles and the peoples of Israel"), which is viewed as the fulfillment of an O.T. prophecy (Ps. 2:1,2; Acts 4:25,26), illustrates the principle of God's sovereignty.<sup>75</sup> This Sovereign God (  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\pi\omicron\tau\alpha$  ) is now (  $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\grave{\alpha}\ \nu\tilde{\upsilon}\nu$  , vs. 29) requested by his servants (  $\delta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron\iota\varsigma$  , vs. 29) to intervene in this present case of opposition against the community by their enemies. Thus, vss. 29,30 apply the historically illustrated principle of God's sovereignty to the present situation. The text can be diagrammed as follows:

δέσποτα, σὺ

ὁ ποιήσας τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν ... αὐτοῖς  
ὁ τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν διὰ πνεύματος ... εἰπὼν  
'ἵνα τί ἐφρύναν ... τοῦ χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ  
συνήχθησαν γὰρ ... προῶρυσεν γενέσθαι  
(καὶ τὰ νῦν)

κύριε

ἐπίδε ἐπὶ τὰς ἀπειλὰς αὐτῶν  
(καὶ)  
δὸς τοῖς δούλοις ... παιδός σου Ἰησοῦ.

### 3. Apostolic "Exegesis" of Ps. 2:1,2 in Acts 4:27,28

a. The interpretation of Ps. 2:1,2 in vss. 27,28 is striking because this is the only place in the N.T. where there is a detailed "exegesis" (application) of a quotation from Ps. 2. The first term to be interpreted is *συνήχθησαν* which is introduced by *γὰρ ἐπ' ἀληθείας*.<sup>76</sup> The verb probably has been placed first in this sentence for sake of emphasis.<sup>77</sup> This provides a clue for the proper understanding of this interpretation of Ps. 2:1,2. "Were gathered together" refers primarily to *Ἡρώδης τε καὶ Πόντιος Πιλάτος* (nominative case) and secondarily, as the *σύν* plus dative case shows, to *ἔθνεσιν καὶ λαοῖς Ἰσραήλ*. This would correspond to Luke 23:12: "And Herod and Pilate became friends with each other that very day, for before this they had been at enmity with each other."<sup>78</sup>

b. The phrase *ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ* (omitted by P S 1 69 462) perhaps reflects Ps. 2:6 where Yahweh announces that, "I have set my king upon my holy mountain Zion." Although "this city" refers to Jerusalem ("Zion") and Ps. 2:1,2 is quoted in the context, the possibility of an allusion to Ps. 2:6 is not confirmed.

c. The phrase *τὸν ἄγιον παῖδά σου Ἰησοῦν ὃν ἔχρισας* presents a christological interpretation of the *τοῦ χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ* of Ps. 2:2. Four questions need to be examined in connection with this phrase. (a) Is *παῖς* in Acts 3

and 4 to be translated "servant" or "child" ("son")?<sup>79</sup> While some scholars such as Conzelmann<sup>80</sup> and Haenchen<sup>81</sup> argue that  $\pi\alpha\iota\varsigma$  should be rendered "son", most scholars (Harnack<sup>82</sup>, Dalman<sup>83</sup>, Cadbury<sup>84</sup>, Taylor<sup>85</sup>, Cullmann<sup>86</sup>, Jeremias<sup>87</sup>, Fuller<sup>88</sup>, Hooker<sup>89</sup>, Marshall<sup>90</sup>, Kränkl<sup>91</sup>) render  $\pi\alpha\iota\varsigma$  in this context as "servant".

(b) A more crucial and complex question concerns the background and connections of  $\pi\alpha\iota\varsigma$  in Acts 4:27. This particular use of  $\pi\alpha\iota\varsigma$  cannot be isolated from the other three uses of it in Acts (3:13,26; 4:30). In these four cases is  $\pi\alpha\iota\varsigma$  to be traced back to the servant of Isaiah or to the use of  $\overline{\tau\tau\eta}$  in the O.T. and Judaism as a title of honour for men such as Moses and David? There are at least three positions that have been taken in reference to the background and significance of  $\pi\alpha\iota\varsigma$  in Acts 3 and 4.

First, all four uses of  $\pi\alpha\iota\varsigma$  are traced back to the Servant Songs of Isaiah. This is advocated by Harnack,<sup>92</sup> Carpenter,<sup>93</sup> Torrey,<sup>94</sup> Jeremias (in the first edition of his important essay),<sup>95</sup> Smalley,<sup>96</sup> Stanley,<sup>97</sup> Menard,<sup>98</sup> Cullmann,<sup>99</sup> and others.<sup>100</sup> This position is based primarily<sup>101</sup> upon the allusion to Is. 52:13 (  $\acute{o} \pi\alpha\iota\varsigma \mu\omicron\upsilon \dots \delta\omicron\varsigma\alpha\sigma\theta\eta\sigma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$  ) in Acts 3:13 (  $\acute{\epsilon}\delta\omicron\varsigma\alpha\sigma\epsilon\nu \tau\omicron\nu \pi\alpha\iota\delta\alpha \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon \text{ } \acute{\iota}\eta\sigma\omicron\upsilon$  ). This allusion is even conceded by Haenchen<sup>102</sup> and O'Neill.<sup>103</sup> Supporting the connection of  $\pi\alpha\iota\varsigma$  in Acts 4:27 with Isaiah is  $\acute{o}\nu \acute{\epsilon}\chi\rho\iota\sigma\alpha\varsigma$  which is taken as a reference to Is. 61:1.<sup>104</sup> The second position posits that the four uses of  $\pi\alpha\iota\varsigma$  are to be understood in terms of  $\overline{\tau\tau\eta}$   $\overline{\pi\pi\eta}$  as a title of honour in the O.T. and in Judaism. This position is held by O'Neill,<sup>105</sup> Haenchen,<sup>106</sup> Jeremias<sup>107</sup> (2nd ed.) and Hooker.<sup>108</sup> The main arguments for this position are the juxtaposition of David (Acts 4:25) and Jesus (4:27,30) as "servants" where  $\pi\alpha\iota\varsigma$  as applied to David must be conceived of as a title of honour, the well established use of servant as a title of honour in the O.T.<sup>109</sup> and the

use of  $\pi\alpha\tau\varsigma/\tau\tau\eta$  as a title of honour in liturgical contexts (cf. Acts 4) in Judaism<sup>110</sup> and the Church Fathers.<sup>111</sup> A third position, which has been repeatedly stated by Moule,<sup>112</sup> is that the immediate context of the usage of  $\pi\alpha\tau\varsigma$  is the key to a proper understanding. Thus in the apologetic and explanatory context of Acts 3 where "the intention is to explain how it is that glorious and daring claims are now being made for a recently crucified criminal"<sup>113</sup> the use of  $\pi\alpha\tau\varsigma$  stems from Is. 53 where the suffering servant was treated like a criminal but later vindicated. On the other hand, the context of the use of  $\pi\alpha\tau\varsigma$  in Acts 4 is liturgical and thus it is likely here that  $\pi\alpha\tau\varsigma$  has its roots in Jewish liturgical tradition where servant was a title of honour.<sup>114</sup>

Since even those who hold the second position admit that there is an allusion to Is. 52:13 in Acts 3, it is accepted that the servant of Acts 3:13 is derived from Isaiah. What is of special concern in this study is the background of  $\pi\alpha\tau\varsigma$  in Acts 4:27. In this passage Ps. 2:1,2 is given a christological interpretation in terms of  $\pi\alpha\tau\varsigma$ . Moule,<sup>115</sup> Jeremias<sup>116</sup> and others hold that in this liturgical context the parallel between the  $\pi\alpha\tau\varsigma$  of Acts 4:25 (David) and the  $\pi\alpha\tau\varsigma$  of Acts 4:27 (Jesus) is determinative for understanding the background of the latter. Since  $\pi\alpha\tau\varsigma$  in 4:25 is a title of honour derived from the O.T. and Judaism, the  $\pi\alpha\tau\varsigma$  of 4:27 is similar.<sup>117</sup> But two factors put this position in question. There is the minor point that the  $\pi\alpha\tau\varsigma$  of 4:27 is modified by  $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\iota\omicron\varsigma$ . The major factor is that the  $\pi\alpha\tau\varsigma$  of 4:27 is exegetical,<sup>118</sup> not primarily liturgical; and thus the parallelism is not warranted. (This also means that 4:30 cannot be used to determine the meaning of 4:27.) If the parallelism of 4:25,27 cannot be used, then what factor gives a clue to the background of



παῖς ? The ἄγιος is of no help because it could be associated with Isaiah (cf. Acts 3:13,14; Is. 53:11) or with a title of honour (Acts 3:21).<sup>119</sup> What is helpful is Moule's observation that in an explanatory context such as Acts 3, it is more likely that παῖς was derived from Isaiah than from the O.T. idea of a title of honour. Since Acts 4:27,28 is a piece of explanation of the rejection of "his Messiah" enshrined in a liturgical passage, it follows that παῖς in 4:27 probably goes back to Isaiah where the servant is rejected. This position is strengthened by the allusion to Is. 61:1 in 4:27 ("whom you have anointed"). Finally, if Acts 3 and 4 may be taken as expressing the same "Petrine" theology, then the allusion to Ps. 2:2 in Acts 3:18 ("his Christ", see section IV), which is connected with the παῖς of Acts 3:13, supports the association of the τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ of 4:26 with the servant of Isaiah. In light of these factors, it would appear that a fairly substantial<sup>120</sup> case can be made for the association of παῖς of Acts 4:27 with the servant of Isaiah.<sup>121</sup> Thus Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ of Ps. 2:2 is interpreted in terms of the servant of Isaiah. The association of the Servant Songs of Isaiah and Ps. 2 has no known antecedents in pre-Christian Judaism.

(c) The phrase ὃν ἔχρισας further interprets τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ by qualifying "your holy servant Jesus". These words are best translated by the R.S.V. as "whom thou didst anoint".<sup>122</sup> To what event in the life of Christ, if any, did this anointing refer? While some commentators are hesitant,<sup>123</sup> most would connect this anointing with the baptism of Jesus.<sup>124</sup> This seems to be the case in Acts 10:38: "how God anointed (ἔχρισεν) Jesus of Nazareth with the Holy Spirit and with power." Also many see in ὃν ἔχρισας an allusion to Is. 61:1 (מָחַל מְשִׁיחַ יְהוָה,

. οὐ εἵνεκεν ἔχρισέν με ).<sup>125</sup>

(d) To what stratum do the words "your holy servant Jesus, whom you anointed" belong? Scholars such as Jeremias,<sup>126</sup> Cullmann,<sup>127</sup> Black,<sup>128</sup> Hooker<sup>129</sup> and Taylor<sup>130</sup> hold that Acts is one of the "oldest christological source". On the other hand, Burkitt and Craig argue that the use of  $\Pi\alpha\tau\varsigma$  is possible only in a Hellenistic setting.<sup>131</sup> O'Neill takes the extreme position that in the early chapters of Acts there is "an exuberance of uncommon titles because Luke is striving to give an archaic and scriptural ring to that part of Acts where a final appeal is made to the Jews of Jerusalem to accept their Messiah."<sup>132</sup> But he admits that "Luke is directly in touch with traditional material" relating to the servant Christology.<sup>133</sup>

The indications of an early stratum for the phase under discussion are as follows: 1)  $\Pi\alpha\tau\varsigma$  is restricted to Acts 3,4 (cf. its use in Mt. 12:18-21 which is a quotation of Is. 42:1-4). This is probably due to the fact that as  $\Pi\alpha\tau\varsigma \Theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$  became separated from its O.T. roots, it came to convey the idea of subordination. Such an idea in the Greek Church was not considered fitting.<sup>134</sup> This is supported by the investigation of Harnack who shows that  $\Pi\alpha\tau\varsigma$  is found in the early church fathers (up to 160 A.D.) only in liturgical contexts.<sup>135</sup> 2) Along the same line, but with a different tack, Cullmann judges that the very great antiquity of the title is indicated by "the fact that it was maintained longest in the documents which by their very nature preserve the oldest elements of the early Christianity: the ancient liturgies."<sup>136</sup> 3) If it is accepted that the prayer as a whole is Jewish in form and that many of the particulars considered up to this point indicate a Palestinian milieu (see E below), then it is

significant that Acts 4:27 is actually pre-liturgical, i.e. it is a piece of exegesis that has been taken up into a liturgical form and therefore must be prior to it. Although this evidence is not conclusive, it points toward an early stratum for the words "your holy servant Jesus, whom you anointed".<sup>137</sup>

d. ἔθνη, λαοί, οἱ βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς  
and οἱ ἄρχοντες of Ps. 2:1,2 are interpreted in terms of  
'Ηρώδης τε καὶ Πόντιος Πιλάτος σὺν  
ἔθνεσιν καὶ λαοῖς Ἰσραὴλ . In this piece of  
exegesis the opponents of "his Messiah" are given a definite  
interpretation. Before examining this interpretation, two general  
observations should be recorded. First, in Ps. 2:1,2 the pagans  
(ἔθνη, λαοί) are mentioned and then the pagan leaders  
(βασιλεῖς, ἄρχοντες); but in the interpretation the  
pagan (political) leaders<sup>138</sup> ('Ηρώδης, Πόντιος Πιλάτος)  
come first and then the pagans.<sup>139</sup> This inversion, plus the fact  
that the pagans are linked to the leaders with a σὺν, indicates that  
the emphasis falls upon the pagan (political) leaders. This is  
striking because in Luke's account of the rebellion against Christ  
the emphasis falls upon the Jewish (religious) leaders.<sup>140</sup> Secondly,  
the οἱ ἄρχοντες of Ps. 2:2 are interpreted in terms of  
Pilate — not the Jewish leaders who are often referred to by this  
term in Luke-Acts.<sup>141</sup> If Luke had been composing this account without  
any reference to traditions, it would have been natural to identify  
the οἱ ἄρχοντες with the Jewish leaders and thus establish  
a direct link with the present enemies of the disciples (see Acts  
4:5,8). Indeed, Tertullian in his interpretation of Ps. 2:1,2 reports  
that "the rulers in Annas and Caiaphas were gathered together against  
the Lord and against his anointed".<sup>142</sup> Thus the emphasis upon pagan

(political) leaders in Acts 4 rather than Jewish (religious) leaders as in the Gospel of Luke and the interpretation of the  $\alpha\iota$   $\alpha\rho\chi\omicron\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$  in terms of pagan rather than Jewish leaders indicate that pre-Lukan traditions has been preserved here.

As for the one-to-one interpretation, it is widely held<sup>143</sup> that the  $\beta\alpha\varsigma\iota\lambda\epsilon\iota\varsigma$  are represented by Herod Antipas, who was considered a king by the common people.<sup>144</sup> The  $\alpha\rho\chi\omicron\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$  are represented by Pontius Pilate,<sup>145</sup> but in Tertullian's interpretation of Ps. 2:1,2 the rulers are linked to Annas and Caiaphas<sup>146</sup> or simply designated the chief priests.<sup>147</sup> Since Tertullian was definitely aware of Acts 4:27,<sup>148</sup> his identification of the  $\alpha\rho\chi\omicron\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$  with Annas and Caiaphas probably is a deliberate alteration due to a desire to stress the guilt of the Jewish leaders. Whatever his motives may have been, it cannot be said that this interpretation is an attempt to exculpate Pilate because Tertullian identifies the  $\epsilon\theta\nu\eta$  with Pilate. In Acts 4:27, the  $\epsilon\theta\nu\eta$  are only identified or represented by the  $\epsilon\theta\nu\epsilon\varsigma\iota\nu$ . Of those commentators who go beyond this, most identify the gentiles as the Roman soldiers.<sup>149</sup> In Adversus Marcionem IV, 42, 2 (C.C.L. I, 659) Tertullian links the  $\epsilon\theta\nu\eta$  with "the Romans who were with Pilate" ("Romani qui cum Pilato fuerant"), and in De Resurrectione Carnis XX, 4 (C.C.L. II, 945) he asserts that "in the person of Pilate 'the heathen raged'" ("tumultuatae sunt gentes in persona Pilati").

The words  $\lambda\alpha\omicron\iota\varsigma$   $\iota\sigma\rho\alpha\eta\lambda$  are not easy to explain. It is clear that  $\iota\sigma\rho\alpha\eta\lambda$  is linked with  $\lambda\alpha\omicron\iota$  as Herod is linked with "kings" and Pilate with "rulers". But what is to be made of the plural  $\lambda\alpha\omicron\iota\varsigma$ ?<sup>150</sup> Some commentators are satisfied simply to note that  $\lambda\alpha\omicron\iota\varsigma$  is due to the  $\lambda\alpha\omicron\iota$  of Ps. 2:1. Others ignore the



It should further be pointed out that λαοί in vs. 27, along with λαοί in vs. 25 (Ps. 2:2 quotation) and in Lk. 2:31 (traditional material), is in striking contrast to the some eighty places in Lk.-Acts where λαός occurs in the singular. This is another indication that traditional material has been utilized by Luke.

Before leaving this interpretation of the enemies of "his Anointed", it should be mentioned that there is no hint of the ἄρχοντες being associated with supra-human powers. In light of the fact that Ps. 2 is associated with Belial and his sons in 4QFlor., with Gog and Magog in Rabbinic literature and with supra-human powers in the Church Fathers,<sup>160</sup> it is noteworthy that the interpretation of Ps. 2:1,2 in Acts 4 is concerned only with human enemies.

e. ποιεῖσαι ὅσα ἡ χεὶρ σου καὶ ἡ βουλή σου προώρτισεν γενέσθαι. This clause brings into sharp focus the question of what is in view in the interpretation of Ps. 2:1,2 in 4:27,28. Is Ps. 2:1,2 one of the O.T. scriptures that speaks of Christ's death? Or is the interpretation of Ps. 2 concerned more with the gathering together of enemies against "his Anointed"? It is usually asserted that the interpretation of Ps. 2 in Acts 4 is in terms of Christ's death.<sup>161</sup> This view can be supported by the following arguments: 1) In Acts 3:18 παθεῖν τὸν χριστὸν αὐτοῦ apparently links the suffering and the death of Christ with Ps. 2:2 (see section IV below). 2) It is obvious that the killing of Christ is what the enemies eventually do (ποιεῖσαι). 3) If it is accepted that παῖς in 4:27 is from Isaiah, then this would point toward suffering and death. 4) Peter's speech in Acts 2:23 links βουλή (cf. Acts 4:28) with the crucifixion of Christ. On the other hand, it must be observed 1) that vs. 28 does not explicitly refer to the death of Christ, 2) that



συνήχθησαν has been brought to the beginning of the sentence for the sake of emphasis and 3) that vs. 27 which deals with the gathering together of the enemies (vs. 28 is concerned with what they then do) is the only part of this interpretation that directly relates to Ps. 2:1,2, i.e. repeats key words and interprets them. Therefore, the emphasis in this interpretation of Ps. 2:1,2 in Acts 4:27,28 is upon the rebellious gathering together of the enemies against "his Anointed".<sup>162</sup> The death of the Messiah is not explicitly stated.

Three words in vs. 28 call for a brief explanation. First, the expression *ἡ χεὶρ σου* definitely reflects Lukan vocabulary.<sup>163</sup> Lukan vocabulary, by itself, does not lead to the conclusion that these words or indeed the whole of Acts 4:23-31 is Lukan composition. It is just as possible that Luke is translating "hand of God" from a source<sup>164</sup> and employs favourite words. The second phrase, *ἡ βουλή [σου]*, which is not confined to Lk.-Acts (Eph. 1:11; Heb. 6:17),<sup>165</sup> is used in Lk.-Acts in a general sense<sup>166</sup> and with reference to God's definite plan.<sup>167</sup> The observations that *βουλή* is used in the same way in Acts 13:36, 20:27 (Paul's speeches) and Eph. 1:11 (assuming Pauline authorship) and that the concept of the will of God is possible in a Palestinian setting<sup>168</sup> caution against the supposition that *βουλή* is Lukan composition. Allen sees in the third term, *προώρισεν* (vs. 28), a reference to the "decree" of Ps. 2:7.<sup>169</sup> If this is so, then the decree concerns not only the sonship of the king but also the *ὄσα* (whatever) of vs. 28. This would link the rebellious gathering together against (and the death of) Christ with Ps. 2:7 (not 2:1,2); but in the analysis of the N.T. uses of *(προ)ορίζω* which is set forth in the section dealing with Rom. 1:3,4 (see ch. IV)

Allen's view is rejected.

#### 4. Contribution and Function

a. Definition of terms. "Contribution" in this study refers to the thought that the quotation expresses and the significance of that thought in its context. "Function" refers to the use of the quotation, e.g. Schriftbeweis, prophecy-fulfillment schema, typologische Schriftverwendung. One could speak of a contribution in terms of content and of a contribution in terms of function, but here contribution means what the quotation states and signifies and function refers to how the quotation is employed.

b. Primary contribution. The contribution of Ps. 2:1,2 in Acts 4:25b,26 is simply a statement that enemies gathered together against Christ. Its significance in this context is made clear in the consideration of its function.

c. Function. The IF ("Sovereign Lord ... who by the mouth of our father David, thy servant, didst say by the Holy Spirit", vss. 24,25) shows that Ps. 2:1,2 is regarded as a prophecy, and the detailed application of Ps. 2:1,2 to the contemporary situation in vs. 27(28) indicates that the prophecy is fulfilled in the Christ-event. Thus Ps. 2:1,2 functions as a prophecy in a prophecy-fulfillment schema.<sup>170</sup> But why is this prophecy-fulfillment, which is a piece of exegesis and thus distinct from its liturgical context, incorporated into this prayer? It has already been indicated above (see C,2,) that the praise of God (vss. 24-28) addresses God as Sovereign. His sovereignty is then shown in creation by a quotation from Ps. 145(146):6 and illustrated in human affairs by the prophecy-fulfillment of Ps. 2:1,2, i.e. what God predicts happens because he is in control. But why was Ps. 2:1,2 chosen as the prophecy whose fulfillment illustrates God's

sovereignty? Were there not many other cases of prophecy-fulfillment that the early church could have selected? This question leads to a consideration of a secondary contribution of Ps. 2:1,2.

d. Secondary contribution. The reason for the selection of Ps. 2:1,2 as a prophecy, whose fulfillment illustrates the sovereignty of God, perhaps is found in a secondary application of  $\tau\omicron\upsilon \chi\rho\iota\varsigma\tau\omicron\upsilon \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$  to the Christian community. Working along the line of a Jewish corporate-solidarity hermeneutic,<sup>171</sup> such an application would not be inconceivable. Indeed, in 4QFlor 1:18,19 the rebellion against "his Messiah" (Ps. 2:1,2) is interpreted in terms of the end-time rebellion against the "Elect of Israel", i.e. the Qumran community (see ch. II).<sup>172</sup> The N.T. evinces a corporate-solidarity understanding of the relation between Christ and his followers (Mt. 25:40; Acts 9:5;<sup>173</sup> Col. 1:24<sup>174</sup>). The parallel between the rebellious gathering together of enemies against Christ (vss. 25-28) and the rebellious gathering together of enemies against the Christian community (Acts 4:5,6,15,17,21,29) makes it probable that Ps. 2:1,2 was selected because the community saw in  $\tau\omicron\upsilon \chi\rho\iota\varsigma\tau\omicron\upsilon \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$  a reference to itself.<sup>175</sup>

e. Relation of the interpretation of Ps. 2:1,2 to its Traditionsgeschichte. For the reader acquainted with the Jewish utilization of Ps. 2 (see chs. I,II) this indirect application of Ps. 2:1,2 in Acts 4:23ff is most striking. Rebellion against "his Messiah" (Ps. 2:2) shall be put down with an "iron rod" (Ps. 2:9). In P.S. 17:26 the son of David "shall destroy the pride of the sinners [gentiles] as a potter's vessel" and "with an iron rod he shall break in pieces all their substance" (cf. IV Ezra 13; I Enoch 48-49; Rabbinic literature). But in Acts 4 where the community probably views itself as "his Anointed", there is no hint of a

destroy-the-gentiles motif. Indeed, the prayer is for boldness to preach the word with accompanying signs and wonders. How is this shift in attitude to be explained? It might be asserted that those who were gathering together against the Christian community were Jews (Acts 4:5,6) and not gentiles (Ps. 2; P.S. 17:24ff), and thus they were not to be treated as gentiles. But the linking of Israel with *λαοί* in Acts 4:27 indicates that Israel was regarded as pagan (see above). Perhaps the explanation is found in Christ's commandment "to pray for those who persecute you" (Mt. 5:44; Lk. 6:28).

#### D. Hermeneutical Stance and Technique

1. Jewish Hermeneutics of the First Century A.D. A rather over-simplified view is that three attitudes towards the interpretation of scripture can be detected in the three major divisions of Judaism roughly contemporary with the N.T. era:<sup>176</sup> midrash exegesis (Rabbinic interpretation and presumably the earlier Pharisees), pesher exegesis (Qumran community) and allegorical exegesis (Philo of Alexandria). While the writings of Philo may provide some insights into the use of the O.T. in Hebrews<sup>177</sup> and the Gospel of John,<sup>178</sup> they may safely be set aside in this particular case.

2. Definition of Terms. In using the terms midrash and pesher it must be asked if these refer to stance (i.e. point of departure), genre or hermeneutical techniques (procedures). The basis of the distinction between midrash and pesher is not found in differing hermeneutical techniques because it has been shown that both the pesher exegesis of Qumran<sup>179</sup> and the midrash exegesis of the Rabbinic literature employ similar hermeneutical techniques.<sup>180</sup> It is also doubtful that midrash and pesher can be distinguished upon the basis of differences in literary genre. The distinctive feature that

indicates a difference between pesher and midrash is stance or point of departure. The ostensible point of departure in midrash exegesis, as Bloch points out,<sup>181</sup> is the text. Building upon Bloch's exposition, Longenecker states that midrash exegesis "seeks to explicate the hidden meanings contained therein via agreed upon hermeneutical principles in order to contemporize the revelation of God for the people of God."<sup>182</sup> On the other hand, in pesher exegesis the point of departure is the contemporary situation "considered from the perspective of imminent apocalyptic fulfillment".<sup>183</sup> The movement in midrash exegesis is from text to contemporary situation: in pesher exegesis the movement is from contemporary situation to text. In this study pesher will only be used to refer to hermeneutical stance — the type of exegesis, illustrated by the D.S.S., whose point of departure is the contemporary situation viewed from the perspective of fulfillment or imminent fulfillment. The term midrash will be used in reference to a hermeneutical stance, a literary genre and hermeneutical techniques. Following Le Déaut,<sup>184</sup> Wright's<sup>185</sup> attempt to limit midrash to a literature (a genre) is rejected. Also "midrash pesher" is dropped.<sup>186</sup>

3. Stance. The exegetical stance in Acts 4:27,28 is classified as pesher because it interprets Ps. 2:1,2 from the perspective of fulfillment, i.e. the rebellious gathering together against Christ by Herod, Pilate, the gentiles and the peoples of Israel.<sup>187</sup>

4. Technique. The repetition of key words<sup>188</sup> (συνήχθησαν, ἔθνεσιν, λαοῖς Ἰσραὴλ ) and precise application<sup>189</sup> (οἱ βασιλεῖς = Ἡρώδης, οἱ ἄρχοντες = Πόντιος Πιλάτος, λαοί = λαοῖς Ἰσραὴλ, τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ = τὸν ... ἔχρισας ) are the midrashic techniques employed to achieve the interpretation of Ps. 2:1,2 in Acts 4.

E. Summary of the Evidence for the Preservation of  
Traditional Materials

Factors indicating the utilization of traditional materials by Luke in the writing up of Acts 4:23-31 are as follows: 1) the retention of the λαός — Luke always uses λαός when he is composing, 2) the emphasis upon the pagan (political) leaders in the rebellion against Christ — Luke's Gospel emphasizes the Jewish (religious) leaders, 3) the interpretation of οἱ ἄρχοντες in terms of Pilate — Luke's practice is to associate ἄρχοντες with the Jewish leaders, 4) the enemies of "his Messiah", i.e. Pilate, Herod, gentiles, peoples of Israel, were not altered to conform to the contemporary enemies of the Christian community, i.e. rulers, elders, scribes, high priest (Acts 4:5), 5) the textual tradition of Ps. 145(146):6 in Acts 4:24 was not conformed to the related texts in Acts 14:15; 17:24 and 6) the restriction of Παῖς as a christological title to Acts 3,4 suggests the use of early traditions. The Lukanisms in this prayer,<sup>190</sup> which may point toward Lukan redaction of traditional materials (cf. ἡ χεῖρ σου, vs. 30), do not negate the factors pointing toward the preservation of traditional materials. Factors indicating a Jewish Palestinian stratum as the Sitz im Leben for Acts 4:23-31 are as follows: 1) the Jewish structure of the prayer, 2) the Jewish peshar stance and midrashic techniques and 3) the implicit Jewish corporate-solidarity hermeneutic in the indirect application of "his Anointed" to the Christian Community. Although these factors do not lead to a conclusive decision, they do indicate that the community prayer of Acts 4:23-31 in large measure preserves traditional materials and that these traditions may stem from a Jewish Palestinian stratum.<sup>191</sup>



IV. Acts 3:18 (4:5)

A number of scholars<sup>192</sup> detect an allusion to τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ of Ps. 2:2 in Acts 3:18: "But what God foretold by the mouth of all the prophets, that his Christ ( τὸν Χριστὸν αὐτοῦ ) should suffer, he thus fulfilled." That the words τὸν Χριστὸν αὐτοῦ probably are an allusion to Ps. 2:2 is indicated by three lines of evidence: 1) Of the 10 uses of αὐτοῦ with Χριστός in the LXX, it is most likely that a christological reference would be taken from Ps. 2:2.<sup>193</sup> 2) Besides Ps. 2:2 in Acts 4:26 and the passage under consideration, there are only two other instances of the use of αὐτός as a possessive adjective with Χριστός — Rev. 11:15; 12:10 where the αὐτοῦ with Χριστός is influenced by Ps. 2 (see ch. V). 3) Acts 3 and 4 are closely related and the interpretation of Ps. 2:1,2 in Acts 4:27,28 shows that the text had been carefully thought through by the early church.

If Acts 3:18 is taken as an allusion to Ps. 2:2, then several important considerations need to be observed. First, Ps. 2:2 is directly linked with Christ's suffering ( παθεῖν τὸν Χριστὸν αὐτοῦ ), and thus it can be counted as one of those scriptures referred to in I Cor. 15:3. Some regard the expression "his Christ should suffer" as Lukan theology,<sup>194</sup> but it could be part of Peter's understanding.<sup>195</sup> Secondly, the prophecy (προκατήγγελεν) fulfillment (ἐπλήρωσεν) schema is very clear in this context. Thirdly, the Χριστός of Ps. 2:2 is combined with the παῖς christology derived from Is. 53 (Acts 3:13) and the προφήτης like Moses christology derived from Deut. 18:15 (Acts 3:22,23).<sup>196</sup>

Although it is far from certain, there is some evidence that the language of Ps. 2:2 has influenced Luke's choice of words in Acts 4:5 : συναχθῆναι αὐτῶν τοὺς ἄρχοντας seems to

be fashioned along the lines of the οἱ ἄρχοντες  
 συνήχθησαν of Ps. 2:2.<sup>197</sup> The text of D reads  
 συνήχθησαν οἱ ἄρχοντες. This may be a  
 correction introduced by D in order to avoid the anacoluthon  
 caused by the change in vs. 6 from the accusative to the nominative,<sup>198</sup>  
 but it could also be an attempt by D to make explicit an allusion  
 to Ps. 2:2 or what D thought was an allusion to Ps. 2:2.<sup>199</sup>

V. Matthew 22:34 (26:3,57; 27:62)

The words *συνήχθησαν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό* of Mt. 22:34 probably allude to *συνήχθησαν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό* of the LXX of Ps. 2:2.<sup>200</sup> Several factors confirm this allusion. 1) The context of Mt. 22:34 speaks of enemies gathered together against Christ. 2) Apart from the citation of Ps. 2:2 in Acts 4:26, Mt. 22:34 is the only place in the N.T. where *ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό* is linked with *συνήχθησαν*. 3) Matthew only uses *ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό* here.

In light of the allusion to Ps. 2:2 in Mt. 22:34, it is probable that *συνήχθησαν* in Mt. 26:3,57; 27:62 alludes to Ps. 2:2. In Mt. 26:3,4, which is a Matthean addition, the chief priests and elders gathered together to take counsel in order to arrest Jesus by stealth and to kill him.<sup>201</sup> Mt. 26:57, which alters Mark's

*συνέρχονται* (14:53) to *συνήχθησαν*, speaks of scribes and elders gathered together at the house of Caiaphas to try Jesus. Mt. 27:62, also a Matthean addition, depicts the chief priests and Pharisees gathered together before Pilate to ask that the sepulchre might be made secure.

A comparison of the quotation and interpretation of Ps. 2:2 in Acts 4 with the allusions to Ps. 2:2 in Mt. reveals that in both books Ps. 2:2 was employed in reference to the gathering together of enemies against Christ, but the identification of the enemies differs. In Mt. they are the Jewish (religious) leaders. In Acts they are the pagan (political) leaders.

## VI. Conclusions

The brief survey of recent criticism of the speeches and prayers of Acts justifies the assumption that there is a relatively high probability that traditions have been used in the writing up of the speeches and prayers. In Acts 4:23-31 a number of factors, which confirm this general assumption, show that in this passage Luke in large measure has preserved traditional materials. There are indications that these traditions go back to a Jewish Palestinian milieu.

The IF of the quotation of Ps. 2:1,2 in Acts 4:25ff contains a primitive error, but the sense of the IF is clear — God spoke through the mouth of David. The text of the quotation follows the LXX which is a straightforward translation of the M.T.

Acts 4:27,28 gives a detailed "exegesis" of Ps. 2:1,2 which is not found in any of the other quotations of Ps. 2 in the N.T. This "exegesis" is a piece of explanation that has been enshrined in a liturgical context. Thus on form-critical grounds it can be judged that this piece of "exegesis" had been worked out prior to its incorporation into this liturgical context. In this "exegesis" there are several noteworthy items. 1) "His Christ" is interpreted in terms of the servant of the Songs of Isaiah. This is also the case in the allusion to Ps. 2:2 in Acts 3:18 where "his Christ" is associated with the servant of the Songs of Isaiah and the prophet like Moses. 2) If λαοί in vs. 27 means pagans (cf. vs. 25), then λαοὺς ἰσραήλ signifies that unbelieving Israel is regarded as pagan. 3) The "exegesis" places the emphasis upon the leaders of the revolt. These are identified as the pagan (political) leaders, i.e. Herod and Pilate, rather than the Jewish (religious) leaders (see Acts 4:5,6). 4) In Acts 4:27,28, Ps. 2:1,2 is applied primarily to

the rebellious gathering together of enemies against Jesus; but in Acts 3:18 the allusion to Ps. 2:2 is associated with the death of Christ. Thus Ps. 2:2 may be one of those scriptures that is referred to by I Cor. 15:3. 5) In contrast to the pre- and post-N.T. Traditionsgeschichte of Ps. 2:1,2, the enemies of Ps. 2:1,2 are not associated with supra-human powers.

In Acts 4:25ff, Ps. 2:1,2 functions as a prophecy in a prophecy-fulfillment schema. The significance (contribution) of Ps. 2:1,2 in this context is that the fulfillment of this prophecy demonstrates that God is sovereign in the affairs of men just as he is sovereign in creation (see vs. 24). A persecuted Christian community needs a Sovereign Lord (  $\delta\epsilon\sigma\pi\acute{o}\tau\eta\varsigma$  , vs. 24) who can overrule in the affairs of men.

The selection of Ps. 2:1,2 as a prophecy to illustrate the sovereignty of God by means of prophecy-fulfillment suggests that it may make a secondary contribution in this context. The parallel between the situation of Christ, i.e. enemies gathered together against him (vss. 25-28), and the situation of the community, i.e. enemies gathered together against them (Acts 4:5ff), indicates that the early church working along Jewish corporate-solidarity lines may have applied "his Anointed" not only to Jesus but also to itself. The possibility of a corporate understanding of "his Anointed" of Ps. 2:2 is attested in pre-Christian Judaism in 4QFlor 1:18,19. If the community did see in "his Anointed" of Ps. 2:2 a reference to itself, then the petition of this prayer for boldness to preach and for signs and wonders rather than judgment upon the gentiles is striking because in the pre-Christian Jewish Traditionsgeschichte of Ps. 2 the gentiles are always associated with a destroy-the-gentiles motif.

The hermeneutical stance of the interpretation of Ps. 2:1,2 in Acts 4:25ff and of the allusion to Ps. 2:2 in Acts 3:18 is peshet: both uses of Ps. 2 are found in prophecy-fulfillment contexts where the point of departure in the interpretation is the contemporary situation. In Acts 4:27,28 the midrashic techniques of repetition of key words and precise application are in evidence.

In Mt. 22:34 (26:3,57; 27:62) there is an allusion to Ps. 2:2 which is employed in a fashion similar to that of Ps. 2:1,2 in Acts 4, i.e. the rebellious gathering together of enemies against Christ; but the identification of the enemies differs. In Matthew they are the Jewish (religious) leaders; in Acts they are the pagan (political) leaders.



Footnotes to ch. III

1. H.J. Cadbury asserts that "the phrase 'both Lord and Christ' in Acts 2:36 is probably reminiscent of Ps. 2:2 quoted in 4:26." The Beginnings of Christianity, ed. F.J. Foakes Jackson and K. Lake (5 vols., London, Macmillan, 1920-1933), V, 407, n.1. (Abbreviated hereafter as B.C.), cf. B.C. IV, 26. This opinion has been rehabilitated by H. Conzelmann, The Theology of St. Luke, trans. G. Buswell (London: Faber and Faber, 1960), p. 174, n.3 (Abbreviated hereafter as Luke) and Die Apostelgeschichte (H.N.T. 7, Tübingen, J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1963), p. 30. (Abbreviated hereafter as ApG.) The proof of this allusion offered by Cadbury and Conzelmann is that the two words are associated in Ps. 2:2 which is cited in Acts 4:26. Without any further proof U. Wilckens has followed Conzelmann at this point. Die Missionsreden der Apostelgeschichte (2nd ed., W.M.A.N.T. 5, Neukirchen-Vluyn, Neukirchener Verlag, 1963), p. 174. M. Rese correctly rejects this position stating that "Kύριος in A. 4:26 Bezeichnung Gottes und nicht Bezeichnung Jesu ist." Alttestamentliche Motive in der Christologie des Lukas (St.N.T. 1, Gütersloh, Gütersloher Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn, 1969), p. 95, cf. p. 65.
2. For the literature on the speeches of Acts before 1960 see E. Grässer, "Die Apostelgeschichte in der Forschung der Gegenwart", Th.R. N.F. 26 (1960), 93-167, esp. 133-149. For the literature since 1960 see the footnotes that follow.
3. Acts 4:24-30 is the longest prayer recorded in Acts and probably the most important one because of its quotation of Ps. 2:1,2. (None of the other prayers in Acts directly cites scripture.) Other prayers in Acts are found in 1:24,25 (apostles' prayer for guidance in the selection of a replacement for Judas), 7:59,60 (Stephen's prayer), 9:5 (Paul's cry, "Who are you, Lord?" cf. 22:8; 26:15), 9:10,13,14 (Ananias' conversation with God in a vision), 10:14 (Peter's conversation with God in a vision). Since it is argued by some that the speeches of Acts 1-13 are Lukan creations and since the prayers of Acts are primarily found in the first half of Acts, these prayers might shed some light on the question of Luke's use of traditions in the speeches.
4. The word "composition" is being used to designate the writing of speeches (and prayers) with little or no use of pre-Lukan traditions. The best known exposition of this position is found in E. Haenchen's monumental commentary on Acts. The Acts of the Apostles: A Commentary, trans. R. McL. Wilson et al. (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1971), pp. 103-110.
5. For a statement of the question see W.G. Kümmel, Introduction to the New Testament, trans. A.J. Mattill, Jr. (New York: Abingdon, 1966), pp. 118,119; D. Guthrie, New Testament Introduction (3rd ed., London, Tyndale Press, 1970), pp. 359,360.

6. Two of the older scholars holding this view are B.H. Streeter, The Four Gospels (London: Macmillan, 1924), p. 370 and H.J. Cadbury, "The Speeches in Acts", B.C. V, 405,406. Yet Cadbury admits that "even they [pagan historians] prevent our assuming a general rule of pure invention by the occasional instances where the substance of a reported speech is confirmed by some independent evidence." See also Cadbury's The Making of Luke-Acts (2nd ed., London, S.P.C.K., 1958), pp. 184ff; M. Dibelius, Studies in the Acts of the Apostles, trans. H. Greeven, (London: S.C.M. 1956), pp. 140-145. For literature since Dibelius see the survey by C.K. Barrett, Luke the Historian in Recent Study (London: Epworth, 1961), pp. 31ff. Also see Kümmel who at this point departs from the view of Feine and Behm; but he does allow that the author of Acts may have worked up reports or units of tradition in one or two places. p. 119.
7. The question of authorship is too involved to even outline. The arguments for and against Lukan authorship are summarized by Kümmel (pp. 102ff) and Guthrie (pp. 98ff). Lukan authorship is accepted by this writer.
8. R.M. Grant, A Historical Introduction to the New Testament (London: Collins, 1963), p. 141. He concludes that, "Those who thus appeal to Thucydides usually neglect the rest of what he said: he stated that when he did have reliable reports he used them. Since we do not know that Luke did not have reliable reports, we cannot say that he did more than rewrite his sources, or perhaps write them up for the first time from oral tradition."
9. In the light of Thucydides' statement, F. Adcock writes that for Thucydides "to insert speeches with no knowledge at all of their actual content would be so notable a departure from this procedure that it is very difficult to believe that he would not have warned his readers that such a departure has been made. A very heavy burden of proof rests upon those who assert that this happened, and a study of the relevant circumstances strongly suggests that Thucydides did not insert in his history speeches which are wholly fictitious in the sense that they have no basis whatever of ascertained fact." Thucydides and His History (Cambridge: University Press, 1963), pp. 28,29.
10. T.F. Glasson, "The Speeches in Acts and Thucydides", E.T. 76 (1964-65), 165.
11. On the more general question of the concern of first century historians about the truthfulness of a reported event ("Did it happen in this way?") see A.W. Mosley, "Historical Reporting in the Ancient World", N.T.S. 12 (1965), 10-26, cf. esp. 12,13.
12. B. Gärtner, The Areopagus Speech and Natural Revelation, trans. C.H. King (A.S.N.U. 21, Uppsala, 1955), pp. 13ff. For criticism of Gärtner's view see C.F. Evans, "'Speeches' in Acts", Mélanges bibliques en hommage au R.P. Bédard Rigaux, ed. A. Descamps and R.P. André (Gembloux: J. Duculot, 1970), p. 290 (Abbreviated hereafter as M.B.).

13. J. Dupont, The Sources of Acts: The Present Position, trans. K. Pond (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1964), p. 166.
14. Haenchen, though coming to a much different position than the one being outlined here, states that, "We have learned from comparing him [Luke] with Mark, [that Luke] subjects his sources to a stylistic revision which renders their reconstitution impossible from his text alone. We may assume that he did not treat the underlying sources of Acts any differently." p. 81.
15. C.C. Torrey, The Composition and Date of Acts (H.Th.S. 1, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1916). The Aramaic texts were not the originals. They were translations of the Greek originals.
16. M. Black An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts (Oxford: University Press, 1946), p. 207. This position is maintained in the 3rd ed. (1967) also. p. 272.
17. M. Wilcox, The Semitisms of Acts (Oxford: University Press, 1965), pp. 180, 181. In addition to the literature cited by Wilcox see the recent contribution by R.A. Martin, who on the basis of a statistical analysis of καί, ὅτι, the use of the preposition and the separation of the article from its substantive, asserts that behind Acts 1-15 there may be an Aramaic source and behind Lk. 1-2 a Hebrew source although these may have come to Luke in a Greek dress. "Syntactical Evidence of Aramaic Sources in Acts 1-15", N.T.S. 11 (1964-65), 38-59; a broad survey of the question is found in D.F. Payne's article the "Semitisms in the Book of Acts", Apostolic History and the Gospel: Biblical and Historical Essays presented to F.F. Bruce on his 60th Birthday, ed. W.W. Gasque and R.P. Martin (Exeter: Paternoster Press, 1970), pp. 134-150. (Abbreviated hereafter as A.H.G.).
18. I.H. Marshall, "The Resurrection in the Acts of the Apostles", A.H.G., p. 94 and Luke: Historian and Theologian (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan, 1971), p. 72 cf. Haenchen, p. 81.
19. E. Schweizer, "Concerning the Speeches in Acts" Studies in Luke-Acts: Essays Presented in Honour of Paul Schubert, ed. L.E. Keck and J.L. Martyn (New York: Abingdon, 1966), 208-216 (Abbreviated hereafter as S.L.A.) This essay was originally published in Th.Z. 13 (1957), 1-11. See also U. Wilckens pp. 32-55. For other criticisms of Wilckens' view not given here see J. Rohde, Rediscovering the Teaching of the Evangelists, trans. D.M. Barton (London: S.C.M., 1968), p. 216. Also see the extensive review of Wilckens by J. Dupont, Les Actes des Apôtres (Le. Div. 45, Paris, Cerf, 1967), pp. 133-155. Originally published in R.B. 69 (1962), 37-60.
20. Schweizer, p. 210.

21. C.H. Dodd, According to the Scriptures: The Sub-structure of New Testament Theology (London: James Nisbet, 1952). Dodd's position has been accepted by B. Lindars, New Testament Apologetic: The Doctrinal Significance of Old Testament Quotations (London: S.C.M., 1961). Against Dodd, see A.C. Sundberg, Jr., "On Testimonies", Nov. T. 3 (1959), 268-281. For further discussion on this issue see D.M. Smith, "The Use of the Old Testament in the New", The Use of the Old Testament in the New and Other Essays: Studies in Honour of W.F. Stinespring (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1972), pp. 27-30; R.H. Gundry, The Use of the Old Testament in St. Matthew's Gospel: With Special Reference to the Messianic Hope (Supp. to Nov. T. 18, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1967), pp. 205ff.
22. C.H. Dodd, The Apostolic Preaching and its Developments (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1936); cf. R.H. Mounce, The Essential Nature of New Testament Preaching (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1960).
23. See J. Bowker, "Speeches in Acts: A Study in Proem and Yelammedenu", N.T.S. 14 (1967), 96-111.
24. M. Simon states that, "For my own part I consider it as highly probable that the speech is, in its essentials, pre-Lukan." St. Stephen and the Hellenists in the Primitive Church (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1958), p. 39.
25. D.C. Arichea, "A Critical Analysis of the Stephen Speech in the Acts of the Apostles" (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Duke University, 1965), cited by D.M. Smith, Jr. who summarises the thesis thus: "While Luke obviously employs traditional material, he [Arichea] is doubtless correct in maintaining that the most fruitful approach to the speech relates it to Luke's purpose." p. 53, n. 130.
26. M.H. Scharlemann, Stephen: A Singular Saint (An. Bib. 34, Rome, Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1968), pp. 22-30.
27. Scharlemann, pp. 29, 30.
28. Marshall, Luke, p. 72.
29. Marshall, Luke, p. 72.
30. I.H. Marshall, "Tradition and Theology in Luke," Tyn.B. 20 (1969), 59.
31. C.F.D. Moule, "The Christology of Acts" S.L.A., p. 171; S.S. Smalley, "The Christology of Acts", E.T. 73 (1962) 358-362; S.S. Smalley, "The Christology of Acts Again", Christ and Spirit in the New Testament: Essays in Honor of C.F.D. Moule, ed. B. Lindars and S.S. Smalley (Cambridge University Press, 1973), 79-94. cf. J.C. O'Neill, The Theology of Acts in its Historical Setting (London: S.P.C.K., 1961), pp. 117-145; G.E. Ladd, "The Christology of Acts", Foundations 11 (1968), 27-41; D.L. Jones, "The Title Christos in Luke-Acts", C.B.Q. 32 (1970) 69-76 and "The Christology of the Missionary Speeches in the Acts of the Apostles" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Duke University, 1966).



32. J. de Waard, A Comparative Study of the Old Testament Text in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the New Testament (S.T.D.J. 4, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1965), pp. 78-81 and "The Quotation from Deuteronomy in Acts 3:22,23 and the Palestinian Text: Additional Arguments", Bib. 52 (1971), 537-540.
33. J.W. Doeve, Jewish Hermeneutics in the Synoptic Gospels and Acts, (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1954). A less extreme and more convincing position is taken by E.E. Ellis, "Midrashic Features in the Speeches of Acts", M.B., pp. 303-312.
34. C.F. Evans, "The Kerygma" J.Th.S. 7 (1956), 28. It is curious that Kümmel, who agrees with Evans, nevertheless, allows for some sort of written "travel account, diaries, itineraries or the like" for Acts 13-28. p. 118.
35. J. Jervell, Luke and the People of God: A New Look at Luke-Acts (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1972), p. 36. cf. pp. 19-39.
36. A helpful survey of the most often proposed solutions will be found in the volume edited by B.M. Metzger on behalf of the editorial committee of the United Bible Societies' Greek N.T. A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament (London: United Bible Societies, 1971), pp. 321-323. In addition to the literature cited there (Torrey, H.W. Moule, Lachmann, Westcott and Hort and the standard commentaries on Acts) see also J.H. Ropes, B.C. III, 40,41; C.F.D. Moule, "H.W. Moule on Acts 4:25", E.T. 65 (1953-54), 220,221; E. Haenchen, "Schriftzitate und Textüberlieferung in der Apostelgeschichte", Z.Th.K. 51 (1954), 156,157; all other references in this chapter to Haenchen refer to his commentary on Acts. Wilcox, pp. 146,147; Holtz, p. 53; Rese, p. 94; L. Cerfaux, "Citations dans les Actes", Aux sources de la tradition Chrétienne: Mélanges offerts à M. Maurice Goguel (Paris: Delachaux et Niestlé, 1950), p. 44.
37. C.K. Barrett, "The Interpretation of the Old Testament in the New", The Cambridge History of the Bible, ed. P.R. Ackroyd and C.F. Evans (3 vols., Cambridge, University Press, 1970), I, 391.
38. Barrett's explanation of Acts 4:25 (and Matt. 1:22) is that, "The supernatural element in scripture is more strongly stressed when its human authors are represented as mere mouthpieces for divine speakers." C.H.B. I, 391.
39. There is no  $\delta\iota\alpha$  with  $\sigma\tau\acute{o}\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$  in Acts 4:25, but it is difficult to see how else the statement could be taken.
40. Three times God is depicted as speaking through the mouth of the prophets (Lk. 1:70, Acts 3:18,21) and once through the mouth of David specifically (Acts 4:25). Once the Holy Spirit is said to speak through the mouth of David (Acts 1:16). Wilcox cites Mt. 4:4 (quotation of Deut. 8:3) as parallel to these passages in Lk.-Acts: "but by every word that proceeds  $\delta\iota\alpha$   $\sigma\tau\acute{o}\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$   $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$  ." This is not a parallel because it is not a formula introducing a quotation from scripture; and the mouth of God, not the human agency, is in view. Thus it is not surprising that Luke in his Gospel omits the second half of the Deut. 8:3 quotation (Luke 4:4). p. 75.

41. Wilcox, p. 75.
42. R.A. Kraft, Barnabas and the Didache in The Apostolic Fathers, ed. R.M. Grant (6 vols., London, Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1965), III, 117; J.B. Lightfoot, The Apostolic Fathers, ed. J.R. Harmer (London: Macmillan, 1891) p. 256.
43. In Barn. 16:9 there is the idea of God foretelling apparently through the mouth of a man, but this is not an IF.
44. J. Fitzmyer cites CD 4:13-14 as a parallel to the IF in Acts 4:25, but this is not an exact parallel because the agency is the hand (not mouth) of a man. Essays on the Semitic Background of the New Testament (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1971), p. 300 (Abbreviated hereafter as E.S.B.) The essay, "Jewish Christianity in Acts in the Light of the Qumran Scrolls", was originally published in S.L.A., pp. 233-257.
45. The other five examples given by Wilcox (Deut. 8:3; III Kings 17:1; II Chron. 25:22; Ps. 49(50):16; Prov. 27:21) are not parallel to the use of the phrase in Luke-Acts. p. 74, n. 3.
46. Wilcox, p. 74.
47. B D read  $\epsilon\upsilon\alpha\ \tau\epsilon'$ . See Bl.-D. Section 12,3 and Bauer p. 379.
48. In active form only used here in N.T.
49. X A D read  $\kappa\alpha\upsilon\acute{\alpha}$  but "the meaning was vana as in all versions". Ropes, B.C. III, 42.
50.  $\epsilon\pi\iota\ \tau\omicron\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron$  is discussed in Ch. I, n. 28.
51. This problem received detailed attention in the chapter on the O.T. It was concluded that the LXX probably has rendered  $\tau\tau\omicron\tau\tau$  of the M.T. correctly, but it must be noted that the evidence pointing in this direction is not absolutely conclusive. If it could be shown that the  $\sigma\upsilon\nu\eta\chi\theta\eta\sigma\alpha\nu$  of the LXX is wrong, then this might be a piece of evidence in favour of Lukan composition because the interpretation of Ps. 2:1,2 taken up in Acts 4:27 rests in part upon  $\sigma\upsilon\nu\eta\chi\theta\eta\sigma\alpha\nu$  of the LXX. However, even this would need to be qualified by the discussion of the use of Greek in Palestine (see n. 55).
52. R.H. Fuller, The Foundations of New Testament Christology (London: Lutterworth, 1965), p. 19.
53. Fuller, p. 19.
54. M. Hengel, "Christologie und neutestamentliche Chronologie", Neues Testament und Geschichte: Oscar Cullmann zum 70. Geburtstag, ed. H. Baltensweiler and B. Reicke (Zürich: J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1972), pp. 43-67; I.H. Marshall, "Palestinian and Hellenistic Christianity: Some Critical Comments", N.T.S. 19 (1973), 271-287.



55. A recent survey that lists most of the relevant materials is found in J.A. Fitzmyer's presidential address to the Catholic Biblical Association of America in 1970. "The Languages of Palestine in the First Century A.D.", 32 (1970), 501-531. His conclusion is that, "I would maintain that the most commonly used language of Palestine in the first century A.D. was Aramaic, but that many Palestinian Jews, not only those in Hellenistic towns, but farmers and craftsmen of less obviously Hellenized areas used Greek, at least as a second language" p. 531 see esp. pp. 507-518. A more detailed study about the extent of Greek known in first century A.D. Palestine is offered by J.N. Sevenster, Do You Know Greek? How Much Greek Could the First Jewish Christians Have Known? (Nov. T. Supp. 19, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1968). See also R.H. Gundry, "The Language Milieu of First-Century Palestine: It's Bearing on the Authenticity of the Gospel Tradition", J.B.L. 83 (1964), 404-408.
56. On the basis of textual analysis of Matthew, R.H. Gundry states that, "The Septuagintal element in allusive quotations in all strata of the synoptic tradition, alongside Semitic elements, and apart from interpretive motives shows that Septuagintisms do not at all necessitate later dating." The Use of the Old Testament in St. Matthew's Gospel, p. 161.
57. R.T. France has worked along these lines in his study of Jesus and the Old Testament: His Application of Old Testament Passages to Himself and His Mission (London: Tyndale Press, 1971), pp. 25-27.
58. 2:23ff; 3:13ff; 4:10ff; 4:33; 5:30f.
59. 2:17ff; 4:8,31; 5:32.
60. 5:40; cf. 4:12,17,18; 5:28.
61. 2:29; 4:13,29,31; see also 28:31.
62. 2:19 (omitted in some MSS of LXX of Joel 3:3), 2:22,43; 4:16,22,30; 5:12, see also 6:8; 7:36; 8:6,13; 14:3; 15:12.
63. 2:19,22,43; 4:30; 5:12, see also 6:8; 7:36; 14:3; 15:12.
64. Namely, the healing of the lame man at the temple gate which is described as τὸ σημεῖον τοῦτο τῆς ἰατρικῆς, 4:22; see also 4:30 where healing is closely linked with signs and wonders.
65. 3:6,16; 4:7,10,30.
66. 2:47; 4:4,21; 5:13.
67. Dupont interprets the warnings as "a legal caution which in rabbinic language is a hatrâ 'âh." Sources, p. 44; cf. B.C. IV, 45.
68. C.F.D. Moule, The Birth of the New Testament (2nd ed., London, A. and C. Black, 1966), p. 21. H.F.D. Sparks comments that, "The style of the actual prayer is semitic through and through." "The Semitisms of the Acts", J.Th.S. 1 (1950), 24.

69. Haenchen in his commentary on Acts calls attention to some of these parallels as many others before him have done. p. 226.
70. That the prayer of Acts 4 has a number of parallels in phraseology with Is. 37 does not prove that this prayer is the product of Lukan composition. It is just as reasonable to suppose that Luke received this prayer in an Aramaic tradition, recognized its points of contact with Is. 37 and deliberately cast it into the phraseology of the LXX of Is. 37.
71. The vocative of *δέσποτης* is often used in the LXX in a liturgical context where it usually translated *יְיָ* (Gen. 15:2,8; Joshua 5:14; Jonah 4:3; Jer. 1:6,4:10(A),15:11; I Esdras 4:60; Tobit 3:14(S),8:17; Wsd. 11:26; Sirach 23:1; II Macc. 15:22; III Macc. 2:2). *δέσποτης* is associated with *σοῦλος* in the N.T. (Lk. 2:29; I Tim. 6:1; Titus 2:9).
72. This *δέσποτης* is described as *ὁ ποιήσας τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν, καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς* (vs. 24b). There is some uncertainty about the exact determination of the source of this reference. Is it from Ex. 20:11 (*ἐν γὰρ ἑξ ἡμέραις ἐποίησεν κύριος τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν, καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς*), Ps. 145(146):6 (*τὸν ποιήσαντα τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν, τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς*) or some early Jewish liturgical tradition? The use of the article (*ὁ*) plus the participle (*ποιήσας*) has been considered by some as a "liturgische Formel". (See M. Dibelius, "Herodes und Pilatus", Z.N.W. 16 (1915), 124; E. Norden, *Agnostos Theos: Untersuchungen zur Formengeschichte religiöser Rede* (Berlin: B.G. Teubner, 1913), p. 203; T. Holtz, *Untersuchungen über die alttestamentlichen Zitate bei Lukas* (T.U. 104, Berlin, Akademie, 1968), p. 84; Haenchen, p. 226, n. 2). Indeed this may be the case in Acts 4:24, but it would seem equally possible that Luke changed the accusative (*τὸν ποιήσαντα*) of Ps. 145(146):6 to a nominative (*ὁ ποιήσας*). With the exception of the omission of the *καὶ* between *τὴν γῆν* and *τὴν θάλασσαν*, the text of Acts 4:24 would then conform exactly to the LXX of Ps. 145(146):6. This position is somewhat strengthened by the realization that the Psalter was one of the most popular books in early Christianity, that Ps. 146 was used as part of a daily morning prayer in later Judaism and that the context of Ps. 146 — if Dodd's thesis has any merit — speaks of hope in the Lord God "who made heaven and earth, the sea and all that is in them; who keeps faith for ever; who executes justice for the oppressed" (vss. 6,7 cf. vs. 3). At any rate, it is to be observed that this praise of God the Creator of all has many Jewish antecedents (Gen. 1:1,14:19; Ex. 20:11; Ps. 145(146):6; Is. 37:17,42:5,45:18; Jer. 39:17LXX; Esther 4:17 vs. 3 of addition in LXX; II Esdras 19:16 (Neh. 9:6); Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* IV, 40), and it reappears in slightly different forms in Acts 14:15 (*ὃς ἐποίησεν τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν, καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς*) where it might be attributed to a "katechetisch-liturgischen Tradition" (Holtz,

## 72. (Contd.)

p. 84) or a formula borrowed from Ex. 20:11 (Haenchen, p. 428) and in Acts 17:24 (ὁ Θεὸς ὁ ποιήσας τὸν κόσμον καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ) where it stands in the Ex. 20:11-Ps. 145(146) tradition but appears to have been taken over from the form of this tradition found in Is. 42:5 (ὁ Θεὸς ὁ ποιήσας τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ πηξάσας αὐτόν, ὁ στερεώσας τὴν γῆν καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ) where τὸν οὐρανὸν has been replaced by τὸν κόσμον for the sake of the Greek audience (cf. Rev. 14:7). The fact that Luke has not conformed the texts found in Acts 4, 14, 17 to each other indicates that these materials are taken over from traditions and are not the result of free composition.

73. 5:38; 20:32; 27:22; cf. 17:30. This is certainly an indication of Lukan style but not proof of Lukan composition.

74. The other uses also signal a shift from past to present. The καὶ νῦν κύριε of IV Kings 19:19 indicates the shift to a petition, but there is also a petition in vs. 16 which is not so introduced.

75. In commenting on this application, Haenchen remarks that, "Luke has to make the best of the fact that the Passion-situation of verse 27 was somewhat incongruous with the threatening of the Apostles." p. 228. However, if the emphasis of vss. 27, 28 is upon the rebellious opposition to Christ and not his death, then the incongruity disappears. Even if the emphasis was upon Christ's death, this would not make the petition incongruous because the application of vss. 27, 28 to the present situation is in terms of God's sovereignty.

76. ἐπ' ἀληθείας denotes that this fulfillment is considered to be factually true. W. de Boor insists that, "Das biblische Wort 'Wahrheit' meint nicht die subjektive Wahrhaftigkeit, sondern die objektive Wirklichkeit." Die Apostelgeschichte (Wuppertal: R. Brockhaus, 1965), p. 102, n. 113. Dibelius thinks that Acts 4 is dependent upon Lk. 23:6-16 which in turn is a legend which arose out of Ps. 2:1, 2. "'Herodes und Pilatus'", pp. 124-126. See bibliography in Reese, p. 96, n. 14. The whole question has recently been scrutinized by H.W. Hoehner who concludes that there are reasonable grounds for accepting the historicity of Lk. 23:6-16. Herod Antipas (M.S.S.N.T.S. 17, Cambridge, University Press, 1972), pp. 227-230. The decisive factor against Dibelius' theory is that there is no trace of Ps. 2:1, 2 in Lk. 23:6-16. See Conzelmann, Luke, p. 91.

77. Bl.-D. state that, "Any emphasis on an element in the sentence causes that element to be moved forward." p. 248 In the case of the verb this must be balanced with the observation of N. Turner that in Biblical Greek, "The verb ... occurs as near the beginning as possible." A Grammar of New Testament Greek (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1963), p. 347.

78. See Hoehner, pp. 180, 239.

79. There is no doubt that  $\pi\alpha\tau\varsigma$  means child in certain N.T. passages. See M.D. Hooker, Jesus and the Servant: The Influence of the Servant Concept of Deutero-Isaiah in the New Testament (London: S.P.C.K. 1959), p. 192, n. 2. On the possibility of a Semitic background Black comments that "talya like pais has the same ambiguity. It can mean either 'servant' or 'child'." "Christological Use of O.T. in N.T.", p. 3.
80. Conzelmann (Apg., p. 37) asserts that, "Der Sinn von  $\pi\alpha\tau\varsigma$  ist durch v. 26 und den Hinweis auf die Salbung bei der Taufe (vgl. Lc 3:22 mit 4:18) als 'Sohn' bestimmt." But the  $\tau\omicron\upsilon\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$  of vs. 26 from Ps. 2:2 does not necessitate that  $\pi\alpha\tau\varsigma$  be taken as "son". Nor does the allusion to the anointing of vs. 27 though linked with the baptism demand the translation "son". Indeed, it is linked by many to Is. 61:1 which is perhaps not a fifth Servant Song by modern standards, yet it would certainly have been associated with the servant of Isaiah in primitive Christianity.
81. Haenchen while stating that Acts 3:13 refers to Is. 52:13 LXX and that  $\pi\alpha\tau\varsigma$  is taken over from Jewish prayers in which great men of God were called  $\tau\epsilon\upsilon\chi\eta$  goes on to assert that Luke treats  $\pi\alpha\tau\varsigma$  "as a formal expression for 'Son of God'." p. 205. He offers no evidence that such is the case.
82. A. von Harnack, "Die Bezeichnung Jesu als 'Knecht Gottes' und ihre Geschichte", Sitzungsberichte der königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Berlin: Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1926), p. 217.
83. G. Dalman, The Words of Jesus, trans. D.M. Kay (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1902), p. 278.
84. H.J. Cadbury, "The Titles of Jesus in Acts", B.C., V, 365.
85. V. Taylor, The Person of Christ (London: Macmillan, 1958), pp. 29,30.
86. O. Cullmann, The Christology of the New Testament, trans. S.G. Guthrie and C.A.M. Hall (London: S.C.M., 1959), p. 73.
87. W. Zimmerli and J. Jeremias, The Servant of God (S.B.T. 20, 2nd ed., London, 1965 = " $\pi\alpha\tau\varsigma\ \Theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$ " of T.D.N.T.), p. 86 Jeremias points out that the striking reserve shown by the gentile church towards  $\pi\alpha\tau\varsigma$  is an indication that it was taken to mean "servant".
88. Fuller, p. 169.
89. Hooker, p. 107.
90. Marshall, Luke, p. 171.
91. E. Krankl, Jesus der Knecht Gottes: Die heilsgeschichte Stellung Jesu in den Reden der Apostelgeschichte (B.U. 8, Regensburg, F. Pustet, 1972), p. 125.
92. Harnack, p. 217, n. 3.



93. L.L. Carpenter, Primitive Christian Application of the Doctrine of the Servant (Durham, N.C., 1929), pp. 59-71 as cited by Cadbury, B.C., V, 367.
94. C.C. Torrey, "The Influence of Second Isaiah in the Gospels and Acts", J.B.L. 18 (1929), 24-36.
95. Jeremias (1st ed.), pp. 85, 86.
96. Smalley, "The Christology of Acts", pp. 360, 361.
97. D.M. Stanley, "The Theme of the Servant of Yahweh in Primitive Christian Soteriology and its Transposition by St. Paul", C.B.Q. 16 (1954), 388, 389.
98. J.E. Ménard, "Pais Theou as Messianic Title in the Book of Acts", C.B.Q. 19 (1957), 83.
99. Cullmann, p. 73.
100. Kränkl also cites L. Cerfaux, H.W. Wolff, J. Palsterman, R. Schütz. p. 125, n. 4.
101. For other allusions to Is. 52, 53 in this passage see Jeremias, p. 86, n. 380.
102. Haenchen, p. 205.
103. O'Neill, p. 138.
104. See n. 80.
105. O'Neill, p. 138.
106. Haenchen, p. 205.
107. Although Jeremias has moved from his original position that the  $\tau\tau\alpha\tau\varsigma$  of Acts 3 and 4 goes back to Isaiah, in the second edition he comments that, "When speaking of Jesus as  $\tau\tau\alpha\tau\varsigma$  ( $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$ ), one had to remember the servant passages of Deutero-Isaiah sooner or later." p. 86.
108. Hooker asserts that it is "thus highly probable that the title 'Servant' was used in the early Church with this general reference." Yet she admits that the allusion to Is. 52:13 in Acts 3:13 "may reasonably lead us to suspect that the Servant concept of Deutero-Isaiah is in mind." But this contradicts her position. So she proposes a most ingenious solution: "But here it is vitally important to consider the question of order in time .... In other words, we must consider whether the use of the title 'Servant' suggested the idea of the Servant Songs, or whether the identification of Jesus with the Servant of the Songs led to the use of the title 'Servant'." (p. 110) She elects the former, but this hardly negates the allusion to Is. 52:13 in Acts 3:13.
109. Zimmerli, pp. 20-25.
110. Jeremias, pp. 49-51.
111. Harnack, pp. 218ff.

112. C.F.D. Moule, "The Influence of Circumstances on the Use of Christological Terms", J.Th.S. 10 (1959), 247-263, esp. 251ff; Birth, pp. 20ff; "The Christology of Acts", S.L.A., pp. 169, 170.
113. Moule, S.L.A., p. 169.
114. Moule, Birth, p. 21.
115. Moule, S.L.A., p. 169.
116. Jeremias, p. 86.
117. Such a parallel in a liturgical context is found in the Didache 9:2 and the prayer of the passover haggada. See Moule, Birth, p. 20 and Jeremias, p. 50, n. 184.
118. Conzelmann remarks that, "Hier herrscht nicht der Stil des Gebets, sondern der Exegese." Apg., p. 37.
119. See F. Hahn's careful analysis of its use in the LXX. He concludes that it is the "designation of a charismatic person". The Titles of Jesus in Christology: Their History in Early Christianity, trans. H. Knight and G. Ogg (London: Lutterworth, 1969), pp. 229ff.
120. It is difficult to draw a sharp distinction between servant as used in Isaiah and its use as a title of honour because the servant of Isaiah is probably a use of servant as a title of honour par excellence.
121. No attempt will be made here to discuss the history of the combination of παῖς with Χριστός. See Rese who raises this question. p. 128.
122. Lake and Cadbury argue that "ἐχρισας refers to the meaning of Χριστός and it must be translated 'make Messiah' if Χριστός be rendered 'Messiah'." B.C. IV, 46, cf. Haenchen, p. 227, n. 1. But the use of the verb in Acts 10:38 and Lk. 4:18 is against this.
123. Lake and Cadbury, B.C. IV, 46.
124. Haenchen, p. 227, n. 1; Lindars, p. 152; F.H. Borsch, The Son of Man in Myth and History (London: S.C.M., 1967), p. 235, n. 3.
125. The wording might be drawn from Ps. 44(45):8(7) (ἐχρίσεν σε ὁ Θεός) (cf. Heb. 1:9), but the direct citation of Is. 61:1 in Lk. 4:18 and the probable allusion to it in Acts 10:38 point towards Is. 61:1. If the παῖς of Acts 4:27 were to be understood more along the line of a title of honour rather than the servant of Isaiah, then the prayer of the passover haggada might provide some background for this anointing: "David the son of Jesse thy servant, thine anointed". Jeremias, p. 50, n. 184. There is also a very striking translation of Ps. 2:6 in Symmachus which should be noted in this connection: καὶ ἔχρισά τὸν βασιλέα μου. Here ἐχρίσα has translated מָשַׁח as if the idea of the root were to anoint (see ch. I). But Symm. cannot be used as conclusive evidence of a pre-Christian tradition.



126. Jeremias affirms that, "We have to do with an ancient tradition." p. 81.
127. Cullmann speaks in terms of "the most ancient period of early Christianity". p. 73.
128. Black labels this as the "oldest christological source". "The Servant of the Lord and Son of Man", S.J.Th. 6 (1953), pp. 3f.
129. Hooker refers to "very early traditional material from Jerusalem". p. 108.
130. Taylor calls it "an element in the earliest Christology". pp. 29,30.
131. F.C. Burkitt, Christian Beginnings (London: University of London, 1924), p. 37; C.T. Craig, "The Identification of Jesus with the Suffering Servant", J.R. 24 (1944), 240-245. For an examination and rejection of this view see Hooker, p. 109.
132. O'Neill, p. 145. In the 2nd ed. (1970) O'Neill omits the ch. on the titles of Christ.
133. O'Neill, p. 135.
134. Hooker, pp. 108,109; Jeremias, p. 85f.
135. Harnack, pp. 233,234; Jeremias, pp. 84,85.
136. Cullmann, p. 75.
137. Contra Wilckens who thinks that  $\Pi\alpha\tau\varsigma$  is due to Lukan composition, pp. 164-166.
138. In connection with Herod, Hoehner states that, "Since Antipas was not a Jew by birth, the Jews did not think of him or the Herodian family as representatives of the Jews. This would be true at least before the times of either Agrippa I or II." p. 227.
139. On calling the Jews (  $\lambda\alpha\omicron\tau\varsigma$  Ἰσραήλ ) pagans, see below.
140. See Conzelmann, Luke, pp. 90,91; Hoehner, pp. 227-230; S. Sandmel, "Pilate", I.D.B., III, 811ff.
141. οἱ ἄρχοντες refers to Jewish leaders in Luke 14:1; 23:13,35; 24:20; Acts 3:17; 4:5,8,26; 13:27. In the Gentile mission the rulers are of course pagans (Acts 14:5; 16:19). Thus, the use of οἱ ἄρχοντες in Acts 4:26 is the only place in a Palestinian setting where it refers to pagan rulers.
142. Tertullian, De Resurrectione Carnis XX, 4 (C.C.L. II, 945).
143. Page, p. 107; F.F. Bruce, Commentary on the Book of Acts (London: Tyndale Press, 1954), p. 106; Haenchen, p. 227; Lake and Cadbury, B.C. IV, 47; Knowling, p. 134; Kränkl, p. 109.
144. "King Herod heard of it." Mk. 6:14; cf. Mt. 14:9.

145. Same as n. 143.
146. Tertullian, De Ressurrectione Carnis XX, 4 (C.C.L. II, 945). For other Church Fathers see footnote 160.
147. Tertullian, Adversus Marcionem IV, 42, 2 (C.C.L. I, 659).
148. Tertullian, Adversus Praxeas XXVIII, 2 (C.C.L., II, 1200); De Baptismo VII, 1 (C.C.L., I, 282). On the other hand, it could be pointed out that in his interpretation of Ps. 2:1,2 in De Resurrectione Carnis XX, 4 and Adversus Marcionem IV, 42, 2, Tertullian interprets the enemies (heathen, peoples, kings, rulers) in the order in which they occur in the Ps. rather than the order found in Acts 4:27.
149. Haenchen, p. 227; Knowling, p. 134; cf. Page, p. 107.
150. T. Zahn's attempt to amend the text to  $\lambda\alpha\acute{o}\varsigma$  (E 3 326 Hilary Augustine Theophylact) has not been well received. Forschungen zur Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons und der altkirchlichen Literature (10 vols., Leipzig, A. Deichertsche, 1888-1929), IX, 257. cf. Kränkl, p. 159, n. 40; H. Strathmann, " $\lambda\alpha\acute{o}\varsigma$ ", T.D.N.T., IV, 52.
151. Lake and Cadbury, B.C. IV, 47; Bruce, Acts (Eng), p. 106.
152. Haenchen, p. 227; Knowling, p. 134; Kränkl, p. 109, n. 40; Tertullian, Adversus Marcionem IV, 42, 2 (C.C.L. I, 659).
153. Holtz, p. 56.
154. Haenchen, p. 227, n. 2. Is it impossible for the Palestinian community to use the O.T. in a fresh, creative way?
155. Lk. 2:31; Acts 4:25,27; Rom. 15:11; Rev. 7:9; 10:11; 11:9; 17:15; 21:3(?).
156. S.G. Wilson, The Gentiles and the Gentile Mission in Luke-Acts (M.S.S.N.T.S. 23, Cambridge, University Press, 1973), p. 36.
157. G.D. Kilpatrick, " $\Lambda\Lambda\omicron\iota$  at Lk. 2:31 and Acts 4:25,27", J.Th.S. N.S. 16 (1965), 127.
158. Wilson, p. 36, n. 2.
159. cf. Origen, Commentary on Matthew 76 (G.C.S. XI, 177).
160. See ch. II for evidence from Qumran and Rabbinic literature. Justin in his Apologia I, 40, 6 (A.W.F. Blunt, The Apologies of Justin Martyr, pp. 60-62) first interprets Ps. 2 in terms of "Herod the king of the Jews, and the Jews themselves, and Pilate, who was your governor among them, with his soldiers" (A.N.F. I, 176), but then he goes on to speak of  $\pi\omega\varsigma$  οἱ δαίμονες, ὅσον ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, τὴν τε τοῦ πατρὸς πάντων καὶ δεσποτοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ τοῦ χριστοῦ ἐξουσίαν φυγεῖν περῶνται. This idea is found in a more developed form in the writings of Origen. In his Commentary on Matthew 90

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(G.C.S. XI, 206) he says that the struggle is not against flesh and blood (*adversus carnem et sanguinem*) but against rulers of the earth standing by and leaders gathered together as one against Him. In Fragments on Lamentations CVII (G.C.S. III, 273) he links Ps. 2:2 to I Cor. 2:8 (a favourite of Origen) and then with Eph. 3:10 (principalities and powers). The Greek fragment in the parallel margin speaks of *σαίμονας*, but it is not clear that this fragment belongs here or is directly related to Ps. 2. In Homily on Genesis IX, 9 (G.C.S. VI, 91) Ps. 2:2 is directly linked with Eph. 6:12 ("For we are not contending against flesh and blood, but against principalities...." R.S.V.) and I Peter 5:8 ("Your adversary the devil...." R.S.V.) See also De Principiis III, 3, 2, (G.C.S. V, 258) and Commentary on Matthew 125 (G.C.S. XI, 260).

161. Wilckens, pp. 109, 110; Rese, p. 94; Page, p. 108; Bruce, The Acts of the Apostles: The Greek Text with Introduction (London: Tyndale Press, 1949), p. 128; Kränkl, p. 209; Lindars, p. 143; C.D. Morrison, The Powers That Be (S.B.T. 29, London, S.C.M., 1960), p. 36; S. Schulz, "Gottes Vorsehung bei Lukas" Z.N.W. 54 (1963), 106; L.C. Allen, "The Old Testament Background of (ΠΡΟ)ΟΡΙΖΕΙΝ in the New Testament", N.T.S. 17 (1970-71), 106. This view is also very common in the Church Fathers. Melito of Sardis, Homily on the Passion, 62 (C. Bonner, The Homily on the Passion by Melito Bishop of Sardis (Philadelphia: University of Penn. Press, 1940), pp. 128, 129, 175). Tertullian, Adversus Marcionem IV, 42, 2 (C.C.L. I, 659); Origen, De Principiis III, 3, 2 (G.C.S. V, 258), Commentary on John XXIII, 23 (G.C.S. IV, 466), Homily on Eze. XIII, 1 (G.C.S. VIII, 441); Hippolytus, Greek Fragments on Genesis, XI (G.C.S. I, 56, 57).
162. Haenchen seems to be observing this distinction when he comments that, "Verses 27f interpret the Ps. ... as a prophecy fulfilled in the events leading to the Passion" (underlining added). p. 226.
163. Except for Mt. 3:12 (Lk. 1:66), the term *Χεῖρ* of God is only found in Acts (4:28, 30; 11:21; 13:11). See K. Grayston, "The Significance of the Word Hand in the N.T." M.B., pp. 479-487, esp. p. 480.
164. This is a well-known O.T. expression. See Ex. 3:20, etc.
165. Labelled a Lukanism by Wilcox, p. 70, n. 5.
166. Lk. 23:51; Acts 27:12, 42.
167. Lk. 7:30, Acts 2:23; 4:28; 5:38, 39?; 13:36; 20:27. On this theme see Conzelmann, Luke, pp. 151f; H. Flender, St. Luke: Theologian of Redemptive History, trans. R.H. and I. Fuller (London: S.P.C.K., 1967), pp. 143, 144; P. Schubert, "Final Cycle of Speeches in Acts", J.B.L. 87 (1968), 2; Schulz, pp. 104ff; Marshall, Luke, pp. 112ff.
168. Divine counsel is certainly found in the O.T. See G. Schrenk, "*βουλή*", T.D.N.T., I, 634.

169. Allen, pp. 105, 106.
170. The Church Fathers recognized this prophecy-fulfillment structure. Justin, Apologia I, 40 (Blunt, pp. 60-62); Melito of Sardis, Homily on the Passion (Bonner, pp. 128, 129, 175); Tertullian, Adversus Marcionem IV, 42, 2 (C.C.L. I, 659), De Resurrectione Carnis XX, 4 (C.C.L. II, 945); Origen, Commentary on Matthew 76 and 125 (G.C.S. XI, 177, 260); Hippolytus, Greek Fragments on Genesis XI (G.C.S. I, 56, 57); Eusebius, Demonstration of the Gospel IV, 16, 4-8 (G.C.S. VI, 184, 185). This is also recognized among modern scholars. Reese who has given careful attention to this matter, classifies Acts 4:25f as prophecy-fulfillment. p. 94. So too C.F.D. Moule, "Fulfillment-Words in the New Testament: Use and Abuse", N.T.S. 14 (1967-68), 305. On the proof from prophecy schema in Lk.-Acts see P. Schubert, "The Structure and Significance of Luke 24", Neutestamentliche Studien für Rudolf Bultmann, ed. W.E. Hester (B.Z.N.W. 21, Berlin, Töpelmann, 1957), pp. 165-186 and N.A. Dahl, "The Story of Abraham in Lk.-Acts", S.L.A., pp. 139-158. See the criticisms of H.H. Oliver on the proof from prophecy schema for the Lukan birth stories in the light of the redaction critical method. "The Lukan Birth Stories and the Purpose of Luke-Acts", N.T.S. 10 (1963-64), 202-226, esp. 225.
171. E. Best, One Body in Christ (London: S.P.C.K., 1955), pp. 203-214. Especially to the point is Best's statement that, "Actions by other nations which affect them [Israel] are looked upon as directed against God; when they are reproached, he is reproached (Ps. 79:12); when they are attacked, he is attacked (Ezek. 35); when they suffer, he is displeased and feels it (Zech. 1:14, 15; Is. 52:4, 5; Jer. 2:3; Ezek. 25:8ff)." p. 204. See also R.P. Shedd, Man in Community (London: Epworth Press, 1958), pp. 3-93.
172. The corporate aspect of the interpretation of "his Anointed" in 4QFlor is recognized by Dupont (Les Actes des Apôtres, p. 298) and Holtz (p. 52, n. 3), but neither of these scholars elaborates upon this as an aid to understanding Acts 4:26ff.
173. See J.A.T. Robinson, The Body: A Study in Pauline Theology (London: S.C.M., 1952), p. 58; Best, p. 184 (see his reference to Merseh); R.N. Longenecker, Paul: Apostle of Liberty (New York: Harper and Row, 1964), p. 204.
174. See C.F.D. Moule, The Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Colossians and to Philemon (C.G.T.C., Cambridge, University Press, 1957), pp. 76, 77.
175. Apparently, this is the only case to date of a corporate application of the term "Messiah" in the D.S.S. (For a recent survey, see A.S. van der Woude, "Χρ(ω", T.W.N.T., IX, 508-511). This corporate understanding of Ps. 2:1, 2 is also reflected in Origen's comment on Mt. 16:1. In speaking of various enemies coming together against Christ, he states that "even now you may see in daily life those who hold the most divergent opinions ... appearing to be of one mind that they may scoff at and attack Jesus Christ in the person



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- of His disciples." Later he speaks of "a combination which takes place against Jesus and his people." (Underlining added) Commentary on Matthew XII, 1 (G.C.S. X, 70). cf. Eusebius Demonstration of the Gospel, IV, 16, 4-8 (G.C.S. VI, 184, 185).
176. In this section there is a special debt owed to R.N. Longenecker for his insights. "Can We Reproduce the Exegesis of the New Testament?", Tyn.B. 21 (1970), 4ff.
177. For the literature on this see Ch. IV.
178. See P. Borgen, Bread from Heaven: An Exegetical Study of the Concept of Manna in the Gospel of John and the Writings of Philo (Supp. to Nov. T. 10, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1965).
179. W.H. Brownlee, "Biblical Interpretation among the Sectaries of the Dead Sea Scrolls", B.A. 14 (1951), 54-76, esp. 60-62. In addition to the standard introductions to the D.S.S. (see Ch. II) and the commentaries on the various books of the literature a few articles and books are cited here that relate specifically to the hermeneutics of the D.S.S. F.F. Bruce, Biblical Exegesis in the Qumran Texts (London: Tyndale Press, 1960); C. Roth, "The Subject Matter of Qumran Exegesis", V.T. 10 (1960), 51-68; E. Oswald, "Zur Hermeneutik des Habakuk-Kommentars", Z.A.W. 68 (1956), 242-256; A. Finkel, "The Peshet of Dreams and Scriptures", R. Qum. 4 (1963), 357-370; S. Lowy, "Some Aspects of Normative and Sectarian Interpretation of the Scriptures", A.L.U.O.S. 6 (1966-68), 98-163; G. Vermes, "The Qumran Interpretation of Scripture in its Historical Setting", A.L.U.O.S. 6 (1966-68), 84-97; B.J. Roberts, "Bible Exegesis and Fulfillment in Qumran", Words and Meanings, ed. P.R. Ackroyd and B. Lindars (Cambridge: University Press, 1968), 195ff.
180. Longenecker states that, "In the remaining eleven characteristics of his listing, Brownlee [see n. 179] has clearly demonstrated that the mode of exegesis employed at Qumran is strikingly similar to that of rabbinic midrash". "Can We ....", p. 9. See also E. Slomovic who gives three examples of rabbinic techniques used in D.S.S. "Towards an Understanding of the Exegesis in The Dead Sea Scrolls", R. Qum. 7 (1969), 3-15.
181. R. Bloch, "Midrash", S.D.B. cols. 1263-1280; cf. G. Vermes, Scripture and Tradition in Judaism: Haggadic Studies (St.P.B. 4, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1961), p. 7.
182. Longenecker, "Can We .....", p. 6.
183. Longenecker, "Can We .....", p. 8.
184. R. Le Déaut, "Apropos a Definition of Midrash", Interp. 25 (1971), 262-282.

185. A.G. Wright, The Literary Genre Midrash (New York: Alba House, 1967). Originally published in C.B.Q. 28 (1966), 105-138, 417-457.
186. M. Black declares that "midrash-pesher is a modern invention probably best forgotten." "The Christological Use of the Old Testament in the New Testament", N.T.S. 18 (1971-72), 1. Among those who have employed this term are Brownlee (pp. 54ff), K. Stendahl, (School of St. Matthew (Lund: Gleerup, 1954), p. 184) and E.E. Ellis, (Paul's Use of the Old Testament (London: Oliver and Boyd, 1957), pp. 139-147).
187. Acts 4 is called a pesher by Longenecker ("Can We ....", p. 7), Wilcox (p. 65, n. 6) and Ellis (M.B. 306, n. 7). See also Dupont Études sur les Actes des Apôtres, (Lectio Divina, 45, Paris, 1967) p. 298.
188. For examples of this in IQp Hab. see 3:7-14; 4:13-5:8; 5:13-6:8. This is also found in at least two speeches (2,13) of Acts. See Ellis, M.B. pp. 306,307.
189. See Roth, pp. 51,52.
190. Wilcox finds six Lukanisms in this prayer. p. 70, n. 5.
191. Concerning the Jewish nature of the shaking of the earth as an indication of answered prayer (Acts 4:31) Haenchen argues that the O.T. references given in B.C. IV, 47 (Ex. 19:18; Is. 6:4; II Esdras 6:14,29 (IV Ezra)) are not real parallels: "They speak of an earth-tremor occurring at the approach of God or the sound of his voice. The trembling of a place in answer to a prayer is described, on the other hand, by Ovid (Metam XV, 669-72) and Virgil (Aen. III, 88-91)." p. 228, n. 2. This leads him to the conclusion that, "For the benefit of his Hellenistic audience, Luke illustrates God's hearing of the prayer with a vivid device which he dared to borrow from pagan religion." p. 229, While it is true that the references to Ex. and Is. are not related to answered prayer, it is difficult to see why IV Ezra 6:14,29 does not fit into this category: "I answered and said: O Lord my Lord, if I have found favour in thy sight (I beseech thee) that thou show thy servant the last of thy signs which thou didst show me a part in the night that is past" (vss. 11,12). This is surely a prayer with a request for it to be confirmed by a sign. The sign is given in vss. 13,14,29. "And he answered and said unto me: Stand up upon thy feet, and thou shalt hear a voice exceeding loud; and it shall be if the place whereon thou standest, be greatly shaken, when it (i.e. the voice) speaks with thee be not thou terrified" (vss. 13,14). "And it came to pass while he spake to me, behold, by little and little (?) the place whereon I stood rocked to and fro" (vs. 29). Haenchen also uses  $\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$   $\delta\delta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$  (vs. 23) as evidence against a Jewish Palestinian stratum. But there is a divergence of opinion as to whom the phrase  $\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$   $\delta\delta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$  designates. On the one hand, J. Dupont defends the idea that it means the Twelve. "Notes sur les Actes des



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- Apôtres, R.B. 62 (1955), 45ff. On the other hand, Lake and Cadbury believe that the  $\pi\lambda\eta\theta\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$  of 4:32 and the  $\zeta\epsilon\iota\kappa\epsilon\iota$  of 4:23 may well mean the same persons B.C. IV, 45. H. Wendt simply states that the size of the group cannot be determined. Die Apostelgeschichte (5th ed., Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1913), p. 115. The fact that  $\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$   $\zeta\epsilon\iota\kappa\epsilon\iota$  cannot be determined with any precision speaks against the conjecture of Haenchen: "When Luke speaks of the community assembled for worship or deliberation, he sees in his mind's eye not the great numbers... but the band of believers gathered in one room which he was accustomed to see around him in the services of his own congregation. We may therefore not infer from a story like the present that it comes to us from a very early period, when the whole community could find a place in one room". p. 226.
192. Those who see something of the influence of Ps. 2:2 in Acts 3:18 are as follows: Bruce Acts (Gk.), p. 11; Knowling, p. 113; Wendt, Apq. p. 105; E. Jacquier, Les Actes des Apôtres (Paris: J. Gabalda, 1926), p. 111; cf. Lake and Cadbury, B.C. IV, 37; Wilckens, p. 159.
193. See ch. II, footnote 137.
194. J.A.T. Robinson, "The Most Primitive Christology of All?" J.Th.S. 7 (1956), 183 In order to maintain his position, Robinson posits that this idea was placed by Luke upon the lips of Christ (Lk. 17:25; 24:26), Paul (Acts 17:3; 26:23) and Peter; Wilckens, p. 159; Moule, S.L.A., p. 167.
195. See I Peter 2:21,23; 4:1 and perhaps 3:18 if the reading of B K P etc. is adopted. See esp. Smalley, "The Christology of Acts Again", pp. 90-92. cf. S.N. Stanton, Jesus of Nazareth in N.T. Preaching (M.S.S.N.T.S. 27, Cambridge, University Press, 1974), pp. 80,81.
196. See Black, "Servant of the Lord and Son of Man", pp. 1-11.
197. Against this is the fact that Luke unlike Matthew does not introduce  $\sigma\upsilon\nu\eta\chi\theta\eta\sigma\alpha\nu$  into his Gospel in connection with the coming together of the Jewish leaders against Christ.
198. Bruce Acts (Gk.), p. 117.
199. In Luke 3:22 D introduces an allusion to Ps. 2:7 and in Acts 13:33D adds Ps. 2:8 to the direct citation of Ps. 2:7.
200. Origen cites Ps. 2:2 in connection with his comment on Mt. 22:34. Commentary on Matthew 76 (G.C.S. XI, 177). Modern commentators also see something of an allusion to Ps. 2:2 in this text. cf. A.H. McNeile, The Gospel according to St. Matthew (London: Macmillan: 1915) p. 324; F.V. Filson, A Commentary on the Gospel according to St. Matthew (London: A. and C. Black, 1960), p. 237; H.J. Holtzmann, Die Synoptiker (2nd ed., H.C.N.T. 1, Freiburg, J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1892), p. 245.

201. Here the συνήχθησαν of Ps. 2:2 has been combined with the ἐβουλεύσαντο of Ps. 30(31):14. cf. Gundry, The Use of the O.T. in St. Matthew's Gospel p. 56.

## Chapter IV

### A STUDY OF PSALM 2:7 IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

## I Introduction

The focal point of most studies that touch upon Ps. 2 is vs. 7. There are three quotations of vs. 7 in the N.T. (Acts 13:33; Heb. 1:5; 5:5) and some alleged allusions (Rom. 1:4; baptism and transfiguration voices). Four areas will be explored in connection with each of the three quotations: 1) introductory formula and text, 2) contribution of the citation to the passage or argument, 3) function of the quotation in its immediate and wider context and 4) hermeneutical stance and techniques. For Rom. 1:4, the baptism voice and transfiguration voice the evidence for and against an allusion to Ps. 2:7 is examined. The first section of this chapter considers the quotation in Acts 13:33 plus the related allusion in Rom. 1:4. The second section takes up the two quotations found in Hebrews. The third section is concerned with the baptism and transfiguration and the conclusion attempts to draw together the results of the various lines of research.

## II Acts 13:33 (Romans 1:4)

### A Introduction

Ps. 2:7 is quoted in Paul's synagogue speech at Pisidian Antioch. The problem of the speeches in the book of Acts has already been outlined in chapter three where it was concluded that there is a relatively high probability that traditions have been used in the writing up of the speeches of Acts. In regard to this speech in Acts 13, even Haenchen, who thinks that "Luke" has "invented"<sup>1</sup> a long speech and put it into the mouth of Paul, admits that the speech contains "scriptural proof which he was not the first to assemble but took over ... some of great age."<sup>2</sup> Scholars differ as to how much of this speech is made up of traditional materials,<sup>3</sup> but there is general agreement that the scripture proofs (esp. vss. 22,33-35) were taken over from tradition.<sup>4</sup> It is difficult to estimate with accuracy how far back these traditions go unless one holds that Luke has preserved an authentic reminiscence of one way in which Paul expressed himself in a synagogue sermon to diaspora Jews and to those who fear God (see excursus at the end of introduction).

Unlike the employment of Ps. 2:1,2 in Acts 4, Ps. 2:7 here is cited without any detailed exegesis or indirect application. Thus this study will be briefer and is restricted to four major questions:

- 1) What is the introductory formula (IF) and the text form of the citation?
- 2) Does Ps. 2:7 in this context refer to the appearance or resurrection of Jesus? What is its contribution to the homily?
- 3) What is the function of Ps. 2:7?
- 4) What hermeneutical stance and technique(s) are in evidence here?

#### Excursus: Paul and Acts 13:13-41

Since it is outside the scope of this study to investigate in

detail the relation of the sermon at Pisidian Antioch to Paul, the matter will only be outlined. The general objections to linking this speech or any speech in Acts to Paul have been set forth in the much discussed essay "On the 'Paulinism' of Acts" by Vielhauer.<sup>5</sup> Vielhauer believes that the theology of Luke is expressed in the "Pauline" speeches and that it differs from the theology of Paul in four main areas.

1) The use of natural theology in Acts 17 differs from that in Rom. 1. But Gärtner, who has studied the Areopagus speech in detail on exactly this point concludes that the speech is Pauline in character though influenced in terminology and literary form by Luke.<sup>6</sup> 2) Luke unlike Paul does not reflect the fundamental nature of the dispute of the law. But Longenecker in a full-length monograph has demonstrated that the Paul of Acts and the Paul of the Epistles are not in conflict at this point.<sup>7</sup> 3) It is asserted that the christological statements of Paul in Acts are not specifically Pauline (or Lukan) but rather primitive and adoptionistic. But the Paul of the Epistles (see esp. Rom. 1:3,4, I Cor. 15:3ff) and the Paul of Acts both used traditional christological expressions. On the other hand, in certain christological expressions there is evidence of a striking similarity between the Paul of Acts and the Paul of the Epistles (see below on "Son of God"). Furthermore, it is very doubtful if it can be shown that Acts 13:33 is "adoptionistic". Vielhauer also asserts that the work of Christ in the speeches of Paul is non-Pauline because of the omission of the meaning of the cross and the reality of "in Christ". Yet in a sermon addressed to unbelievers rather than an epistle written for believers one would not expect any development of the meaning of the cross or the mention of Paul's "in Christ" doctrine — his theological expressions are circumstantially conditioned. 4)



The removal of eschatology from the heart of the speeches of Paul to the periphery is taken as evidence of Lukan theology. This removal is credited to Luke who no longer shares the imminent expectation of the end as did Paul and the early Christian community. This assertion and the arguments for it have been effectively countered by Kümmel<sup>8</sup> who emphasizes the eschatological expectations found in Acts 2:17; 3:19-21; 10:42; 17:31.

While Vielhauer's line of argumentation establishes that certain aspects of the theology placed upon the lips of Paul in Acts differs from the theology of Paul's epistles; it does not prove that the two theologies are mutually exclusive. It is possible to see the theology of Paul in Acts as complementary to that of his epistles. Vielhauer's type of reasoning fails to take into consideration the circumstantial conditioning of the theological expressions in the speeches and the epistles. Moule has illustrated the use of this vital principle in connection with christology<sup>9</sup> and eschatology.<sup>10</sup>

Having surveyed the general objections of Vielhauer to "the Paulinism" of Acts, some attention must now be given to specific objections to the possibility of authentic Pauline reminiscences in Acts 13. Van Iersel specifically rejects the idea that Acts 13 (namely the use of Ps. 2:7) is Pauline for two reasons. First, he believes that, "Zwar spricht Paulus des öfteren von Verheissung, meint damit aber stets die Verheissung an Abraham und niemals die an David."<sup>11</sup> But apart from Acts 13 (and the Pauline epistles)

ἐπαγγελία is never related to David in the remainder of the N.T.. Indeed in Rom. 1:2-4 Paul links "promise" to the credal statement which is based in part on II Sam. 7.<sup>12</sup> Secondly, van Iersel considers that the use of Ps. 2:1,2 in Acts 4 by the early community speaks against the use of Ps. 2:7 in Acts 13 by Paul. This is a

nonsequitur.

Another specific objection is registered by Haenchen: "The real Paul would not have appealed to the Christophanies before the Twelve without referring to his own vision (I Cor. 15:8!)."<sup>13</sup> Neil responds that this is no argument against the basically Pauline character of this sermon because, "Here he is describing the events of Passion Week and the immediate sequel."<sup>14</sup>

On the other hand, there are some positive structural and content factors in this speech that agree with or point to preservation of genuine Pauline reminiscences. In regard to sermon structure Bowker argues that Acts 13:16ff "which claims to be a synagogue sermon turns out on examination to show at least some traces of the formal pattern of a proem homily...."<sup>15</sup> Although this does not directly point to an authentic Pauline reminiscence, it at least concurs with it. Moule puts content matters in proper perspective by stating that, "In particular, it needs to be remembered that it is a priori likely that there should be differences between a speaker's initial presentation of the gospel to a non-Christian audience, and the same speaker's address to those who have already become Christians; and that, with rare exceptions, the Acts speeches belong to the former, while the Pauline epistles belong to the latter class. The moment one examines the rare exceptions on either side, a striking rapprochement occurs."<sup>16</sup> Such examples follow.

1) Acts 13:38,39 states that γνωστὸν οὖν ἔστω ὑμῖν, ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί, ὅτι διὰ τούτου ὑμῖν ἄφεσις ἁμαρτιῶν καταγγέλλεται [καὶ] ἀπὸ πάντων ὧν οὐκ ἠδυνήθητε ἐν νόμῳ Μωϋσέως δίκαιωθῆναι ἐν τούτῳ πᾶς ὁ πιστεύων δικαιούται

There is really no debate about the observation that this is at least

an attempt to reflect Pauline theology, but is it truly Pauline or has Luke misrepresented Paul? Haenchen,<sup>17</sup> Vielhauer<sup>18</sup> and Kränkl,<sup>19</sup> to mention only a few, believe that Luke has misrepresented Paul's theology. First, it is asserted that "justification is equated with the forgiveness of sins and thus is conceived entirely negatively, which Paul never does."<sup>20</sup> But this passage only shows that forgiveness of sins is linked (not equated) with justification. It does not say that forgiveness of sins is the whole of justification. This partial presentation of justification could be due either to Luke's abridgement of a fuller speech or to circumstantial factors. Paul actually uses this phrase in Col. 1:4: ἐν ᾧ ἔχομεν τὴν ἀπολύτρωσιν, τὴν ἄφεσιν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν (cf. Eph. 1:7). Although Paul may be using a primitive Christian confession in Col. 1, this does not mean that Paul himself does not accept this formulation. What needs to be noted is that τὴν ἄφεσιν does not exhaust the τὴν ἀπολύτρωσιν (see Rom. 8:23). Marshall<sup>21</sup> points out that Paul links justification and forgiveness in Rom. 4:7 (Ps. 31(32):1,2) where he could have omitted vs. 1 (ἀφέθησαν αἱ ἀνομίαι) since vs. 2 makes the point in the context (οὐ μὴ λογίσηται κύριος ἁμαρτίαν). Finally, since ἄφεσις ἁμαρτιῶν is used in Col. 1:14, Eph. 1:7, Mt. 26:28 and Mk. 1:4, it is probable that many uses of the phrase in Luke (1:77, 3:3;<sup>22</sup> 24:47<sup>23</sup>) and Acts (2:38; 5:31; 10:43; 13:38; 26:18) were taken over from a common primitive kerygma.

Secondly, Vielhauer alleges that vss. 38,39 do not contain Pauline theology because what is taught here is "only a partial justification, one which is not by faith alone, but also by faith."<sup>24</sup> This interpretation rests upon a grammatical possibility<sup>25</sup> but is

labeled by Moule as "perverse exegesis".<sup>26</sup> Even Haenchen, who is in basic agreement with Vielhauer's main point, rejects this interpretation because Vielhauer who "makes the author here develop a doctrine that an incomplete justification through the law is completed by a justification through faith imputes to him [Luke] a venture into problems which were foreign to him."<sup>27</sup>

Thirdly, an element of non-Pauline theology is found by Vielhauer in Acts 13 where "the forgiveness of sins is tied to the messiahship of Jesus which is based on the resurrection."<sup>28</sup> Actually, the forgiveness of sins (vss. 38,39) is not tied to the messiahship of Jesus but to the kerygma (vss. 26-31) which is the result of the fulfillment of the promise (vss. 22,23,32-37) by the resurrection. This, however, is Pauline thought: Paul links the fulfillment of the promise of Rom. 1:2 to the resurrection (Rom. 1:4) and links justification to the resurrection of Christ (Rom. 4:25). In spite of Vielhauer's objections, the reference to justification in vss. 38,39 should be allowed to stand as a genuine Pauline reminiscence.

2) In Acts 13:23 ἐπαγγελία is associated with the promise to David (II Sam. 7:12). This is most striking because with one exception the N.T. consistently associates ἐπαγγελία with Abraham or "the fathers". The exception is Rom. 1:2-4 where Paul speaks of a promise made beforehand and links this to the pre-Pauline confession which in part is built on the promise to David (II Sam. 7:12ff).

3) Are the two uses of υἱὸς (τοῦ Θεοῦ) in Acts 9:20; 13:33<sup>29</sup>, which are found upon the lips of Paul, evidence of genuine Pauline reminiscence? First, it must be shown that they are not due to Lukan redaction. Every occurrence of the title Son (of God) in Luke's gospel is either taken over from Mark (4:41 (cf. Mk. 1:34<sup>30</sup>);

9:35; 27:70 (cf. 22:67 with Mk. 14:61)), Q (4:3,9) or tradition (Lk. 1:32,35). At one point Luke replaces υἱὸς Θεοῦ with δίκαιος (Mk. 15:39, Lk. 23:47). Thus Son of God in Acts is not to be credited to Lukan redaction.<sup>31</sup>

Secondly, is this use of Son (of God) in Acts 13:33 (and 9:20) compatible with the use of it in Paul? Once again the principle of circumstantial conditioning must be kept in view. Moule writes that, "Acts [13:33] seems, thus, to represent Paul as using a recognized argument for the messiahship of Jesus. By contrast, there is no doubt that the most interesting and most distinctively Pauline use of υἱός, in Rom. 8 and Gal. 4, goes much deeper than mere messianism. Nevertheless, the messianic use is not in the least incompatible with the profounder use."<sup>32</sup>

4) After examining possible explanations of the complex citation in Acts 13:22, Black concludes that, "It is a much simpler hypothesis, however, to assume that the conflation goes back to St. Paul himself; no one was in a better position to know the different traditional 'targums', Greek and Aramaic, of this passage."<sup>33</sup>

5) A line of evidence that can be characterized as compatible with Pauline theology, but not distinctively Pauline, is the use of ἐπαγγελία in Acts. First, in three of the four places in Acts where ἐπαγγελία is used to refer to the covenant of the O.T., it is found on the lips of Paul (Acts 13:23,32; 23:21, in Acts 7:17 on lips of Stephen). This situation is compatible with the Pauline epistles on the basis of which "we tend to consider the O.T. from the standpoint of promise."<sup>34</sup> Secondly, the peculiar phrase "promise to the fathers" which occurs only upon the lips of Paul in Acts (13:32 τὴν πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας ἐπαγγελίαν γενομένην ; 26:6 τῆς εἰς

τοὺς πατέρας ἡμῶν ἐπαγγελίας γενομένης )  
 finds its closest parallel in Rom. 15:8 (εἰς τὸ βεβαιῶσαι  
 τὰς ἐπαγγελίας τῶν πατέρων ).

Thus, on the one hand, the case against the preservation of genuine Pauline reminiscences presented by Vielhauer and others is not conclusive; while on the other hand, there are in Acts (esp. ch. 13) certain factors that appear to be distinctively Pauline and others that are at least compatible with Paul's thought as expressed in his epistles. Since it is generally accepted that in Acts 13 Luke has taken over the quotations from traditional materials, that one of these citations (Acts 13:22) is best explained as stemming from Paul and that there are some distinctively Pauline reminiscences preserved in the speech (justification by faith), it is probable that the quotation and the interpretation of Ps. 2:7 in Acts 13:33 go back to Paul himself and thus is to be dated pre-50 A.D.

#### B. Introductory Formula and the Text Form

The quotation is introduced by the words ὡς καὶ ἐν τῷ ψαλμῷ γέγραπται τῷ δευτέρῳ. The full combination ὡς ... γέγραπται ἐν appears only in Luke-Acts in the N.T. (Lk. 3:4; Acts 13:33; Mk. 7:6 omits the ἐν ). It is also found in the LXX (II Ch. 35:12; II Esdras 20:35,37) and in its Hebrew equivalent in the O.T. (Dan. 9:13) and in the D.S.S. (4QFlor 1:12; 11QMelch 9<sup>35</sup>). This might be construed as evidence of Lukan style influenced by the LXX, but the phrase γέγραπται ἐν is used outside of Luke-Acts (Mk. 1:2; John 8:17; I Cor. 9:9, 14:21). A more convincing proof of Lukan style in the IF is found in the employment of ψαλμός. In the N.T. it is used three times in reference to music (I Cor. 14:26; Eph. 5:19; Col. 3:16) and four



times in reference to the O.T. book of Psalms — all of which are found in Luke-Acts (Lk. 20:42; 24:44; Acts 1:20, 13:33). It is striking that in Lk. 20:42 the  $\epsilon\tilde{\nu} \tau\tilde{\omega} \pi\nu\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\mu\alpha\tau\iota \tau\tilde{\omega} \acute{\alpha}\gamma\acute{\iota}\omega$  of Mk. 12:36 (Mt. 22:43 simply has  $\epsilon\tilde{\nu} \pi\nu\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\mu\alpha\tau\iota$  ) has been replaced by  $\epsilon\tilde{\nu} \beta\acute{\iota}\beta\lambda\omega \psi\alpha\lambda\mu\tilde{\omega}\nu$ . The restriction of  $\psi\alpha\lambda\mu\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  as a biblical reference to Luke-Acts and the redactional activity in Lk. 20:42 provide grounds for crediting the IF of Acts 13:33 to Lukan composition and not to traditional material.<sup>36</sup> This conclusion may shed some light on the vexing textual problem that follows.

D, it<sup>d</sup>, g<sup>g</sup>, ph<sup>mg</sup>, Cyprian (Ad Quirinum II, 8; C.C.L. III, 40), Tertullian (Adv. Marcionem IV, 22, 8; O.E.C.T. I, 381), Origen (Selecta in Psalmos II, P.G. XII, 1100) and Hilary (Tractatus in Psalmum II, C.S.E.L. XXII, 59) read  $\epsilon\tilde{\nu} \tau\tilde{\omega} \pi\rho\acute{\omega}\tau\omega \psi\alpha\lambda\mu\tilde{\omega} \gamma\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\rho\alpha\pi\tau\alpha\iota$  rather than  $\epsilon\tilde{\nu} \tau\tilde{\omega} \psi\alpha\lambda\mu\tilde{\omega} \gamma\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\rho\alpha\pi\tau\alpha\iota \tau\tilde{\omega} \delta\epsilon\upsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omega$  of P<sup>74</sup> X A B etc. Although P<sup>45</sup> reads  $\epsilon\tilde{\nu} \tau\omicron\iota\varsigma \psi\alpha\lambda\mu[\omicron\iota\varsigma]$ , Metzger observes that, "If the shorter reading is regarded as original, one has the difficulty of explaining why... almost all scribes thought it necessary to identify the quotation by using a numeral with  $\psi\alpha\lambda\mu\tilde{\omega}$ ."<sup>37</sup> Therefore, only the first two readings will be discussed.

Is it more likely that Luke<sup>38</sup> was acquainted with the Jewish tradition of combining the first and second Psalms and thus wrote  $\pi\rho\acute{\omega}\tau\omega$  which later was altered to  $\delta\epsilon\upsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omega$  or that he wrote  $\delta\epsilon\upsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omega$  which was later altered to  $\pi\rho\acute{\omega}\tau\omega$  by someone who knew the Jewish tradition?<sup>39</sup> The place to begin is with the age of this Jewish tradition. Brownlee put forward the hypothesis that Pss. 1-2 functioned as a "coronation liturgy" in the exilic if not pre-exilic period of Judaism. The main evidence for this is the

literary relation of Ps. 2 to Ps. 1<sup>40</sup>, but he gives no historical proof that such a combination actually existed in that period.<sup>41</sup> More recently Bardtke has undertaken to trace the historical evidence which bears upon the dating of this Jewish tradition.<sup>42</sup> He sets forth the following evidence. 1) The Hebrew MSS in which Pss. 1 and 2 are written together and Ps. 2 is numbered as Ps. 1 date from the twelfth to the fourteenth century A.D. (see below on Origen).<sup>43</sup> 2) Albertus Magnus (d. 1280) knows the Jewish tradition of combining Pss. 1 and 2 on the basis that Ps. 1 begins with "blessed" and Ps. 2 ends with "blessed" and thus is one Psalm.<sup>44</sup> In this connection he mentions the name of Gamaliel who is assumed to be Gamaliel I (second third of first century A.D.). But Albertus Magnus is centuries removed from this tradition and the Gamaliel could be I, II or III. Indeed Albertus Magnus, himself, and David Kimchi (d. 1235) both refer to Ps. 2 as the second Psalm.<sup>45</sup> 3) In Berakoth 9<sup>b</sup> is preserved the tradition of combining Pss. 1 and 2 because "Every chapter that was particularly dear to David he commenced with 'Happy' and terminated with 'Happy'."<sup>46</sup> This tradition makes it possible to number Ps. 19 as Ps. 18 and to relate the last words of Ps. 18 ("Let the words of my mouth be acceptable") to the end of the eighteenth benediction. The dating of this tradition is related on the one hand to the formation of the "Eighteen Benedictions" which probably were not fully established in the first century A.D.<sup>47</sup> and on the other hand to the name R. Johanan who might be R. Johanan ben Nuri at Beth She'arim (younger group of second generation Tannaim).<sup>48</sup> Although the reference is not clear, Bardtke favors R. Johanan ben Nuri.<sup>49</sup> 4) The Church Fathers that are aware of this tradition are listed (he omits Cyprian and Tertullian), and three are selected for special consideration. Jerome (d. 420) knows that Pss. 1 and 2 are

combined in a Hebrew MS as does Athanasius (d. 373) who in his own exposition of the matter treats Ps. 2 as the second Psalm.<sup>50</sup> Origen in his Selecta in Psalmos (P.G. XII, 1100) says that Acts 13:33 reads *ὡς γὰρ γέγραπται ἐν πρώτῳ ψαλμῷ* . Origen explains that in at least one Hebrew MS Pss. 1 and 2 were written together.<sup>51</sup> Although Bardtke admits that the LXX, as we know it today, writes Pss. 1 and 2 separately, he attempts to establish a tradition of writing Pss. 1 and 2 as one psalm in a pre-N.T. Greek translation of Psalms on the basis of the D reading of Acts 13:33.<sup>52</sup> He realizes that the D reading is not widely accepted; nevertheless, he treats it as a first century A.D. witness which presupposes an earlier Greek tradition. He anticipates criticism: "Es lässt sich natürlich einwenden, dass die Lesart 'im ersten Psalm' auf einer Korrektur beruht, die nach masoretischen Handschriften mit Zusammenschreibung erfolgte." To this he lamely replies that, "Wahrscheinlich ist auch in der griechischen Tradition das Vorhandensein der Getrennschreibung und Zusammenschreibung anzunehmen."<sup>53</sup> This is petitio principii. The earliest piece of clear<sup>54</sup> evidence that this Jewish tradition was known in Greek is to be found in Origen.<sup>55</sup> 5) In connection with 4QFlor 1:14ff<sup>56</sup> where Ps. 1:1 and Ps. 2:1,2 are quoted, Bardtke firmly asserts that this is proof of the Jewish tradition of the writing together of Pss. 1 and 2. He bases his conclusion on two observations. First, *וְיָתֵד* is used in 1:14 to introduce Ps. 1:1 and its pesher but *וְיָתֵד* is not repeated at 1:18 where Ps. 2:1,2 is quoted. Secondly, "Im Zusammenhang der drei vorhergehenden Stellen [Ps. 1:1, Is. 8:11, Eze. 37:23], die eine ausdrückliche Nennung der Herkunft der angeführten Zitate bringen, kann die Nichtnennung von Psalm 2 nur so verstanden werden, dass Psalm 2,1 als die Fortsetzung des bereits in

Zeile 14 begonnenen Psalms aufgefasst wurde, d.h. mit diesem als eine literarische Einheit aufgefasst wurde."<sup>57</sup> The second observation can be quickly dismissed because the source of the quotation from Ps. 1:1 unlike that from Is. and Eze. is not given. From the second observation the only firm conclusion that can be drawn is that  $\Psi\tau\Delta$  introduces 1:14-2:4: the use of  $\Psi\tau\Delta$  in 1:14 and its omission in 1:18 hardly proves that the quotations from Ps. 1:1 and Ps. 2:1,2 reflect the Jewish tradition of writing the two Psalms together. If this Jewish tradition had not been known from other sources, it is most unlikely that any interpreter of 4QFlor would have introduced this idea here.

Thus Luke, who supplied the  $\psi\alpha\lambda\mu\acute{o}s$  and therefore supplied the number, cannot be shown to have written  $\pi\rho\acute{\omega}\tau\omicron>s$  because there is no conclusive evidence for the writing together of Pss. 1 and 2 in either the Greek tradition<sup>58</sup> or the Jewish tradition of the first century A.D. Luke must have written  $\delta\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron>s$ .

The text of the citation agrees exactly with the LXX which in turn agrees with the M.T. The exact agreement with the LXX is not surprising in light of Luke's use of the LXX, but it is not to be taken as proof of Lukan composition. A Jewish missionary such as Paul, who knew the LXX, certainly would have used the LXX in his preaching to diaspora Jews and gentiles who feared God (Acts 13:16, 26). Ps. 2:7,<sup>8</sup> of the Western text is not the original reading because there would be no reason for the other MSS to shorten such a quotation.<sup>59</sup>

### C. Contribution of Ps. 2:7

#### Appearance or Resurrection of Jesus?

##### 1. Introduction

The crucial question in Acts 13:33 is to what does Ps. 2:7 refer?

The appearance of the Messiah, i.e. Jesus, or the resurrection of Jesus from the dead? In the long history of this debate the names of many well-known scholars, both past and present, have been associated with one side or the other. Among those who have defended the view that Ps. 2:7 refers to the resurrection of Jesus are Loisy,<sup>60</sup> Bauernfeind<sup>61</sup> and more recently Dupont,<sup>62</sup> Haenchen,<sup>63</sup> Schweizer,<sup>64</sup> Goldsmith,<sup>65</sup> Burger,<sup>66</sup> Lohfink,<sup>67</sup> Kränkl<sup>68</sup> and especially Lövestam.<sup>69</sup> Among those who hold that Ps. 2:7 refers to the appearance of the Messiah (or some aspect of that appearance) may be named Zahn,<sup>70</sup> Lake and Cadbury,<sup>71</sup> Page,<sup>72</sup> Preuschen<sup>73</sup> and more recently Lampe,<sup>74</sup> Bruce,<sup>75</sup> Stählin,<sup>76</sup> Voss,<sup>77</sup> Neil<sup>78</sup> and especially Rese.<sup>79</sup> Obviously one cannot speak of a scholarly consensus on this issue.

## 2. Arguments for Taking ἀναστήσας

### Ἰησοῦν as the Resurrection of Jesus

Lövestam's case<sup>80</sup> for taking ἀναστήσας Ἰησοῦν as the resurrection of Christ contains four basic arguments.<sup>81</sup> First, there is the continuity of the context. The resurrection of Jesus is mentioned in the kerygma of vs. 30 (ὁ δὲ Θεὸς ἤγειρεν αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν), in vs. 34 (ὅτι δὲ ἀνέστησεν αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν) and in vss. 35-37. Therefore, the introduction of the idea of the appearance of the Messiah "which is naturally presupposed in the preceding account of Jesus ... would to a certain degree break the context."<sup>82</sup> An examination of this line of argumentation is found below in the arguments for taking ἀναστήσας Ἰησοῦν as the appearance of the Messiah.

Closely associated with this argument is a second one which states that the introduction of Is. 55:3 and Ps. 15(16):10 in vs. 34a

indicates that Ps. 2:7 refers to the resurrection of Jesus. Since vss. 34,35 speak of an advance beyond the statement of the resurrection, vs. 33 must refer to the resurrection.<sup>83</sup> Lohfink who develops this idea speaks of this advanced thought as "in der Auferweckung Jesu hat Gott endgültig und definitiv gehandelt."<sup>84</sup>

Lohfink bases his conclusion on the observation that ὅτι δὲ ἀνέστησεν αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν μηκέτι μέλλοντα ὑποστρέφειν εἰς διαφθοράν, οὕτως εἶρηκεν ὅτι (vs. 34) is not to be translated "Dass er ihn aber von den Toten auferweckt hat und er nicht zur Verwesung zurückkehren soll, hat er so ausgesprochen..." as Tillmann does, who understands μέλλοντα as "parataktisch", but "Dass er ihn aber von den Toten auferstehen liess als einen, der nicht mehr zur Verwesung zurückkehren sollte" with Conzelmann.<sup>85</sup> Lohfink is no doubt correct in preferring Conzelmann's translation. This translation, however, does not prove that there is an advance from resurrection (vs. 33) to resurrection viewed as final and definitive (vs. 34). A further response to this argument will be presented in the next section.

Thirdly, Lövestam,<sup>86</sup> in dependence upon Dupont,<sup>87</sup> argues that ἀναστήσας Ἰησοῦν "would seem to require a closer qualification of the object, if ἀνίστημι had the meaning of 'let appear'." Dupont spells out his position thus. First, when used with a personal name (Jesus, Jesus of Nazareth) or a personal pronoun in Acts, ἀνίστημι (ἐγείρω) signifies the resurrection (Acts 2:24,32; 4:10; 5:30; 10:40; 13:30). Secondly, in Acts when ἀνίστημι (ἐγείρω) refers to the appearance of the Messiah, the quality of the one sent by God is more precisely defined (i.e., "a prophet" in Acts 3:22; 7:37, "his



servant" in Acts 3:26 and "David to be King" in Acts 13:22).

Dupont's position has been cited by many during the past twenty-five years, but his evidence has not been subjected to a critical examination.<sup>88</sup>

Dupont's first line of evidence is contradicted by two passages in Acts. Many, though not all commentators, understand ὁ Θεὸς ... ἤγειρεν Ἰησοῦν of Acts 5:30 as a reference to the raising up (not resurrection) of Jesus.<sup>89</sup> Although Acts 5:30 is debatable, there can be no debate about Acts 13:22,

ἤγειρεν τὸν Δαυὶδ . Here the verb can only mean raise up. Dupont's second line of evidence is also open to question.

The more precise designation "a prophet" in Acts 3:22 and 7:37 is not due to Lukan style but to the quotation of Deut. 18:15. Obviously no personal name would be found in such an O.T. quotation. The same thing is true of "his servant" in Acts 3:26 which has probably been influenced by Isaiah. In Acts 13:22 ( ἤγειρεν τὸν Δαυὶδ αὐτοῖς εἰς βασιλέα ), the object of the verb is the personal name David. The βασιλεύς can hardly be described as a closer qualification of the object. Furthermore, if one is allowed to cite examples where ἀνίστημι (ἐγείρω) is used passively, then illustrations can be supplied in which these two verbs with the sense of resurrection are used with a closer qualification of the "object".<sup>90</sup>

For example Acts 17:3 is definitely speaking of resurrection and χριστός is clearly a title in this context: ὅτι τὸν χριστὸν ἔδει παθεῖν καὶ ἀναστῆναι ἐκ νεκρῶν, καὶ ὅτι οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ χριστός [ὁ] Ἰησοῦς, ὃν ἐγὼ καταγέλλω ὑμῖν (cf. Lk. 24:46). Lk. 9:22

clearly refers to the resurrection and "Son of Man" probably should be taken as a title:<sup>91</sup> ὅτι δεῖ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ

ἀνθρώπου... τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἐγερθῆναι  
 (cf. Lk. 24:7, ἀναστῆναι).<sup>92</sup> Perhaps the use of the verbal  
 noun ἀνάστασις with the title Χριστός in Acts 2:31  
 (τῆς ἀναστάσεως τοῦ Χριστοῦ) should be  
 mentioned. Thus Dupont's "rule" is not firmly established.<sup>93</sup> It  
 cannot be a main factor in determining what ἀνίστημι in  
 Acts 13:33 signifies.

Fourthly, Lövestam asserts that Ps. 2:7 in Heb. 1:5 is connected  
 with the resurrection-exaltation of Jesus and that Hebrews has a  
 "kinship with Luke's writing". Therefore, Hebrews 1:5 helps to show  
 that Ps. 2:7 in Acts refers to the resurrection of Jesus.<sup>94</sup> Such an  
 assertion is certainly open to question. First, it is far from  
 certain that Ps. 2:7 in Heb. 1:5 (and 5:5) is related to the  
 resurrection-exaltation of Jesus (see below). Secondly, even if  
 linguistically and perhaps conceptually Hebrews is more closely  
 related to Luke-Acts than the rest of the N.T.,<sup>95</sup> this certainly  
 does not establish more than a "community of atmosphere".<sup>96</sup> To  
 interpret the use of Ps. 2:7 in Acts 13:33 in the light of its  
 alleged use in Heb. 1:5 is to go beyond the evidence.<sup>97</sup>

With the exception of the first argument which will be examined  
 in detail in the next section, it can be maintained that Lövestam's  
 arguments are at best inconclusive.<sup>98</sup> This conclusion is confirmed  
 by the use of Ps. 2:7 in the Church Fathers.

If in Acts 13:33 Ps. 2:7 clearly refers to the resurrection of  
 Jesus and if there is an early and frequent use of Ps. 2:7 by the  
 Fathers, then it is reasonable to expect that some traces of this  
 resurrection tradition would have been preserved. From the end of  
 the first century to the opening of the fourth, Ps. 2:7 is cited 31  
 times by 15 Fathers,<sup>98a</sup> but in this period<sup>98b</sup> Ps. 2:7 is never

associated with the resurrection.<sup>98c</sup> How is this omission of the resurrection association to be explained? Perhaps the early association of Ps. 2:7 with the baptism displaced its association with the resurrection. This might be a plausible explanation if the full citation of Ps. 2:7 in the so-called "Western" text of Lk. 3:22 were original, but it will be shown below that the evidence for this is very weak. Thus from the very beginning, the association of Ps. 2:7 with the baptism as attested in the allusion to Ps. 2:7 in the baptism voice — if indeed there is such an allusion — completely displaced the association of Ps. 2:7 with the resurrection as attested in the quotation of Ps. 2:7 in Acts 13:33. Such a situation is improbable.

### 3. Arguments for Taking ἀναστήσας Ἰησοῦν as the Appearance of the Messiah

On the basis of Lk. 3:22 Wendt<sup>99</sup> and Preuschen<sup>100</sup> relate Ps. 2:7 to Jesus' baptism. Yet in light of the absence of any indication in Acts 13 pointing to the baptism, it is best to understand ἀναστήσας as a reference to the whole life of Jesus.<sup>101</sup> The crucial argument for understanding ἀναστήσας as the appearance of the Messiah is the context of ἀναστήσας Ἰησοῦν and Ps. 2:7. It already has been alleged that vss. 30-37 form an unbroken argument related to the resurrection. But is this correct? Three lines of evidence need to be explored here. First, there is the relation of vs. 32 to what follows and especially to what precedes it. Vss. 32b, 33a (τὴν πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας ἐπαγγελίαν γενομένην, ὅτι ταύτην ὁ Θεὸς ἐκπεπλήρωκεν ) introduces and governs vss. 33b-37. Hence, the quotations from

Ps. 2:7, Is. 55:3, Ps. 15(16):10 are all related to the fulfillment of the promise. As to the preceding context of vss. 32,33a there are two indications that a break exists in the train of thought between vss. 31 and 32. 1) There is a shift from the third person in vss. 27-31 (the kerygma) to the second person ( *ἡμεῖς* ) in vs. 32 (cf. *ἡμῶν* of vs. 26).<sup>102</sup> 2) The subject matter of vss. 32,33a, which speak of the fulfillment of the promise made to the Fathers, also constitutes a break in the alleged continuity of thought referring to the resurrection. Indeed the catchword

*ἐπαγγελία* in vs. 32 ( *τὴν πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας ἐπαγγελίαν γενομένην* ) takes the reader back to *ἐπαγγελία* in vs. 23 ( *τούτου ὁ θεὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ σπέρματος κατ' ἐπαγγελίαν ἤγαγεν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ σωτῆρα Ἰησοῦν* ).<sup>103</sup> Thus there exists evidence for a break at the end of vs. 31 in the line of thought.

A second line of evidence is the relation of vs. 33 to vs. 34f. Whether *ὅτι* should be translated "and that" with Dupont<sup>104</sup> or "but that" with Rese<sup>105</sup> is of no consequence. What is important is that the introduction ( *ὅτι δὲ ἀνέστησεν αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν μηκέτι μέλλοντα ὑποστρέφειν εἰς διαφθοράν, οὕτως εἶρηκεν ὅτι* ) to the quotations from Is. 55:3 and Ps. 15(16):10<sup>106</sup> clearly indicates a step forward.<sup>107</sup> The crucial question is a step forward from what (vs. 33) to what (vs. 34f). Starting with the second "what", it is evident from the elaborate exegesis of Ps. 15(16):10 in vss. 36,37 that the resurrection of Jesus is the point at issue in vss. 34-37 and not some advance on that thought.<sup>108</sup> Thus if vss. 34ff are simply about the resurrection of Jesus and vss. 34ff are a step

forward from vs. 33, then vs. 33 cannot be about the resurrection. Rather, it must be about something else — the appearance of Jesus. It will be indicated below that this dovetails with one possible explanation of the function of these three O.T. texts.

A third line of evidence related to the issue of the context is the omission of  $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa \nu\epsilon\kappa\rho\omega\upsilon\nu$  after  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\sigma\alpha\varsigma \text{ } \text{'}\iota\eta\sigma\omicron\upsilon\nu$ .<sup>109</sup> In light of  $\eta\gamma\epsilon\iota\rho\epsilon\nu \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu \acute{\epsilon}\kappa \nu\epsilon\kappa\rho\omega\upsilon\nu$  of vs. 30 and  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\eta\sigma\epsilon\nu \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu \acute{\epsilon}\kappa \nu\epsilon\kappa\rho\omega\upsilon\nu$  of vs. 34, the omission of  $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa \nu\epsilon\kappa\rho\omega\upsilon\nu$  in vs. 33 is most striking. This omission, however, has been dismissed by Lövestam as being insignificant. His basis for this assertion is that in Acts 2:24,32  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\eta\mu\iota$  refers to the resurrection but  $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa \nu\epsilon\kappa\rho\omega\upsilon\nu$  is omitted.<sup>110</sup> At first sight this rebuttal is impressive, but an examination of the use of  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\eta\mu\iota$  ( $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho\omega$ ) in Luke-Acts reveals that in every case where these terms refer to the resurrection<sup>111</sup> and  $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa \nu\epsilon\kappa\rho\omega\upsilon\nu$  is missing either the addition of  $\tau\eta \tau\rho\acute{\iota}\tau\eta \eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha$  (Lk. 9:22; 24:6,7; Acts 10:40) or some other contextual factor (Acts 2:24,32; 13:37) makes it indisputable that the verb refers to the resurrection. In light of this feature of Lukan style the omission of  $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa \nu\epsilon\kappa\rho\omega\upsilon\nu$  in Acts 13:33 does appear to be significant.<sup>112</sup> Furthermore, if the author had wanted to connect the three quotations in vss. 33-35 to the resurrection, it is very strange that he should have omitted  $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa \nu\epsilon\kappa\rho\omega\upsilon\nu$  after  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\sigma\alpha\varsigma \text{ } \text{'}\iota\eta\sigma\omicron\upsilon\nu$  of vs. 33 and added it to  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\eta\sigma\epsilon\nu \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu$  of vs. 34. It would have been much easier to have written  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\sigma\alpha\varsigma \text{ } \text{'}\iota\eta\sigma\omicron\upsilon\nu \acute{\epsilon}\kappa \nu\epsilon\kappa\rho\omega\upsilon\nu$  which would have introduced all three quotations as texts related to the resurrection. The examination of the problem of the  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\sigma\alpha\varsigma \text{ } \text{'}\iota\eta\sigma\omicron\upsilon\nu$  in Acts 13:33 issues

in a verdict that the evidence for interpreting these words in reference to the resurrection of Jesus is inconclusive while on the other hand there are substantial, though not overwhelming, indications in the context that ἀναστήσας Ἰησοῦν, and therefore Ps. 2:7 also, refers to the appearance of Jesus, the Messiah.

#### 4. Contribution of Ps. 2:7 to the Sermon

Accepting that Ps. 2:7 is to be connected to the appearance of Jesus, what then is the specific contribution of Ps. 2:7 to this synagogue sermon? Why is it included? The main answer to this question is found in the next section on the function of Ps. 2:7, i.e. the contribution of Ps. 2:7 in terms of function not content. The contribution of Ps. 2:7 is to name Jesus as the Son of God, the Messiah, (II Sam. 7:12ff). (For Son of God in pre-Christian Judaism see ch. II.)

#### D. Function of Ps. 2:7

##### 1. In its immediate context

Rese states that, "Die Schrift ist hier eindeutig im Schema von Erfüllung und Weissagung herangezogen."<sup>113</sup> More precisely, it could be said that Ps. 2:7 is employed in the schema of promise (ἐπαγγελία) - fulfillment (πληρόω). Moule observes that Acts 13:32 is the only instance in the N.T. of the combination promise - fulfillment.<sup>114</sup> After the statement that the promise made to the fathers has been fulfilled by the raising up of Jesus, Ps. 2:7 is introduced by the words "as also it is written in the second psalm". Thus the specific function of Ps. 2:7 in its immediate context is to spell out the content of the ἐπαγγελία of vs. 32.<sup>115</sup>



## 2. In its wider context

First, Ps. 2:7 as seen in its O.T. setting is an enthronement proclamation.<sup>116</sup> That it is being used the same way in Acts 13 is indicated<sup>117</sup> by the parallel between the ἡγείρεν τὸν Δαυὶδ αὐτοῖς εἰς βασιλέα (vs. 22) and the promise to him (vs. 23 and to the father, vs. 32) which was fulfilled in the ἡγάγεν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ σωτῆρα Ἰησοῦν (vs. 23) and the ἀναστήσας Ἰησοῦν (vs. 33).<sup>118</sup>

Secondly, although the ἐπαγγελία of vs. 32 is made to the "fathers", in light of the context of the speech there can be little doubt that what is in view is the promise made to David in II Sam. 7. Scholars repeatedly have pointed out that II Sam. 7 underlies the whole sermon.<sup>119</sup> Taking this observation a step further, Bowker asserts that II Sam. 7:6-16 is the haftarah in this synagogue speech which has several features corresponding to the proem homily pattern.<sup>120</sup> He states that the proem homily pattern<sup>121</sup> consists of a proem text which serves as a bridge between the sedar and the haftarah. This proem text introduces the sermon and at least in one word has to tally linguistically with the haftarah. After this introductory proem text, there follows an exposition of the text that contains stories and illustrations and especially a series of other texts of scripture which carry the theme forward. "This process is known as haruzin, a word which means basically 'stringing pearls' or 'beads'." In this haruzin the haftarah can be explicitly quoted, but more often the preacher simply alludes to it. The final text of the haruzin is taken from the sedar or from another part of scripture that would point directly to the sedar.<sup>122</sup> In Acts 13, which specifically mentions the reading of a sedar and haftarah (vs. 15), Bowker thinks that the sedar text is Deut. 4:25-46,

that the haftarah text is II Sam. 7:6-16 and that the proem text is I Sam. 13:14.<sup>123</sup> Only the last text would need to be cited in the homily (see Acts 13:22).<sup>124</sup> What is of special interest is the haruzin which is found in vss. 33-41 where Ps. 2:7, Is. 55:3, Ps. 15(16):10 and Hab. 1:5 are quoted. The last reference goes back to the seder,<sup>125</sup> and it would appear that Ps. 2:7 and Is. 55:3 (Ps. 15(16):10 is added to establish the promise of Is. 55:3<sup>126</sup>) allude to the haftarah, i.e. they are a midrashic<sup>127</sup> restatement of part of the haftarah. This can be set forth as follows:

II Sam. 7:14

Ps. 2:7 in Acts 13:33<sup>128</sup>

אֲנִי אֶחֱיָה לְךָ לְבָב

υἱός μου εἶ σὺ

וְהָיָה לְךָ לְבָב

ἐγὼ σήμερον  
γεγέννηκά σε

II Sam. 7:15a, 16a

Is. 55:3 in Acts 13:34<sup>129</sup>

וְהָיָה לְךָ יֶסֶד דָּמֹנ

δώσω ὑμῖν τὰ ὅσα

וְהָיָה לְךָ בֵּית דָּמֹנ  
וְהָיָה לְךָ

Δαυὶδ τὰ πιστά

Ps. 2:7 rephrases the promise (II Sam. 7:14) concerning the king's divine sonship. Understanding the ὅσα of Is. 55:3b as constituting "a closer description of the eternal covenant"<sup>130</sup> of Is. 55:3a, Is. 55:3 reiterates the promise (II Sam. 7:15, 16) of the son's permanence.<sup>131</sup> So Ps. 2:7 functions in this haruzin as a midrashic restatement of part of the haftarah. Thus in both the immediate and wider context Ps. 2:7 functions as a restatement of the ἐπαγγελία /haftarah.<sup>132</sup>

### E. Hermeneutical Stance and Techniques<sup>133</sup>

The hermeneutical technique of midrashic restatement already has been discussed in connection with the function of Ps. 2:7. In light of the fulfillment motif (ἐκπεπλήρωκεν τοῖς τέκνοις ἡμῶν, vs. 33), the hermeneutical stance<sup>134</sup> should be designated peshar rather than midrash.

### F. Romans 1:4

A brief discussion of the alleged allusion to Ps. 2:7 in Rom. 1:4 is taken up here because Rom. 1:4 and Acts 13:33 are often cited together as evidence of Ps. 2:7's link to the resurrection of Jesus. A pre-Pauline christological creed, that may go back to the Aramaic speaking church, is enshrined in Rom. 1:3,4. The exact content and form of this pre-Pauline creed and its theological significance have been much debated.<sup>135</sup> While some<sup>136</sup> indicate that there probably is an allusion to Ps. 2:7 in vs. 4, Allen is much more confident about this possibility.<sup>137</sup> Is there sufficient evidence to support this assertion? In the examination of the evidence for an allusion to Ps. 2:7, Snaith's recent reminder that a word or phrase from biblical language may not be an allusion to the O.T. but simply part of the common vocabulary must be kept in mind.<sup>138</sup> Or put in positive terms, what is required to establish an allusion to Ps. 2 is something distinctive in the wording that points to Ps. 2 (see below on the baptism of Jesus).

Allen begins his article by stating that "υἱοῦ Θεοῦ in vs. 4 is commonly derived from Ps. 2:7,"<sup>139</sup> but υἱοῦ Θεοῦ is not a distinctively Ps. 2 phrase. Indeed, in light of the possible allusion in Rom. 1:3 (ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυὶδ) to the promise to David in II Sam. 7:12 (πχ ἡδ' ἔρχηται ἡ γέννησις σου, ἀναστήσω τὸ σπέρμα σου)<sup>140</sup>, it is just as

likely that "son (of God)" was taken from II Sam. 7:14 ("I will be his father, and he shall be my son"). Betz is of the opinion that, "The two original, parallel credal sentences are consciously formed on the pattern of the Nathan saying which, as in Qumran, is given a messianic interpretation."<sup>141</sup> This is further strengthened by Black's observation that in Acts 2:30 II Sam. 7:12 is specifically mentioned in relation to the resurrection of Christ.<sup>142</sup> Thus one cannot start, as Allen appears to do, from a sure allusion to Ps. 2:7 in Rom. 1:4 and then look around for other traces of Ps. 2:7 influence.

Secondly, Allen sets forth the linguistic hypothesis that the  $\delta\rho\iota\sigma\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$  of Rom. 1:4 is related to the  $\rho\pi$  of Ps. 2:7. If this could be established, it would provide the distinctive wording that is required to attest an allusion to Ps. 2. He evaluates as "doubtlessly correct" Lövestam's conjecture that  $\rho\rho\pi\Delta$  of 4QPBless should be pointed  $\rho\rho\pi\Delta$  ("what has been decreed") and should be connected to the  $\rho\pi$  of Ps. 2:7.<sup>143</sup> Perhaps the interpretation of  $\rho\rho\pi\Delta$  as a passive participle does shed light on the aorist and perfect passive participles of  $\delta\rho\acute{\iota}\zeta\epsilon\iota\nu$  in Rom. 1:4; Acts 2:23; 10:42, but "doubtlessly correct" is far too high an evaluation of Lövestam's suggestion.<sup>144</sup> Allen's other piece of linguistic evidence that "the choice of  $\delta\rho\acute{\iota}\zeta\epsilon\iota\nu$  to render the idea of  $\rho\pi$  may be paralleled in the use of  $\delta\rho\iota\sigma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$  for various Aramaic words meaning roughly 'decree' in Dan. 6 LXX" is interesting but far from conclusive.<sup>145</sup> Linguistically, has Allen shown that the  $\rho\pi$  of Ps. 2:7 is the basis for the aorist passive participle  $\delta\rho\iota\sigma\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$  of Rom. 1:4? Probably not.

Thirdly, Allen asserts that, "In each case, it will be observed, the verb [(προ)όριζειν] occurs in a context from which Ps. 2 and/or Christ's sonship is not far removed".<sup>146</sup> Each one of these cases must briefly be examined. 1) It is asserted that in Acts 10:42 ὡρισμένος ("the one decreed by God as judge of the living and dead") is linked to Is. 11:4 ("judge the poor in righteousness"), and Is. 11:4 is linked to Ps. 2 in pre-Christian Jewish tradition. The link of Is. 11:4 to "judge" is questionable, and Is. 11:4 is only linked to Ps. 2:9 in the tradition. 2) The example from Acts 17:31 ("judge the world in righteousness by a man whom he has decreed (ὥρισεν)") encounters the same objection as Acts 10:42 plus the observation that κρίνειν τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ of Acts 17:31 alludes to Ps. 9:9LXX (κρίνει τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ). 3) In Acts 4:25f (see ch. III) Ps. 2:1,2 is cited and the fulfillment specified. This fulfillment is seen as that which God's "hand and plan had previously decreed (προώρισεν) should happen." While noting that "there is a shift of application from the resurrection of Jesus to his passion", Allen maintains that "the decree mentioned in the middle of Ps. 2 evidently was taken by the primitive church to be both prospective and retrospective, governing the attack upon the Christ as well as his promised power."<sup>147</sup> In the context of Ps. 2, however, the ρΠ of vs. 7 refers only to vss. 7b-9. To say that προώρισεν in Acts 4:28 shows that at least in the primitive church the ρΠ was related to Ps. 2:1,2 as well as Ps. 2:7b-9 is to beg the question under discussion, i.e. is (προ)όριζειν related to the ρΠ of Ps. 2:7? 4) Acts 2:23 ("given up by God's decreed (ὡρισμένη) plan and foreknowledge") is said to be linked with an allusion to Ps. 2:2

found in Acts 2:36 ("God has made him both Lord and Christ"). Yet, Acts 2:36 does not contain an allusion to Ps. 2:2.<sup>148</sup> 5) In Lk. 22:22 ("The Son of man goes in accordance with what has been decreed (ὡρισμένον)") probably Luke was influenced by material he was gathering for his second volume, and the divine decree of Ps. 2 had been applied to a detail of Christ's passion."<sup>149</sup> But it is Son of man, not Son of God, christology that is in view here; and there is some indication that Luke had not as yet become aware of Ps. 2:1,2 in terms of Christ's passion.<sup>150</sup> 6) In I Cor. 2:7f ("The wisdom ... which God decreed of old (προώρ(σεν) ... which none of the rulers of this age knew") the ἀρχόντων of I Cor. 2:8 is linked to the ἄρχοντες of Ps. 2:2. The steps in the development of Allen's explanation are as follows: "In I Cor. 2:6ff the allusion to the rulers of Ps. 32:10 provoked a reminiscence of the rulers of Ps. 2. Paul uses προώρ(σεν) in [I Cor.] 2:7 because he has in mind a retrospective application of Ps. 2:7. His next mention of 'rulers' in [I Cor.] 2:8 is straight from Ps. 2:2: the apostle goes on to mention the crucifixion, echoing the primitive Christian exegesis of Ps. 2:1-2 in Acts 4:25ff."<sup>151</sup> What starts as a conjecture ("The rulers of Ps. 32 apparently sparked off an association of ideas"<sup>152</sup>) ends up as a certainty ("The combined motifs of God's decree, rulers, crucifixion and resurrection point unerringly to Ps. 2"<sup>153</sup>) without any additional proof. The fallacy here lies in the very first step, i.e. jumping from rulers in I Cor. 2:8 (Ps. 32:10) to rulers in Ps. 2:2. There is no evidence that this was in Paul's mind. Furthermore, I Cor. 2 is working in terms of Wisdom christology not Son of God christology; and Allen again posits a retrospective application of Ps. 2:7.<sup>154</sup> 7) In Rom. 8:29 ("those whom he foreknew he also decreed of old (προώρ(σεν) to be conformed to the



image of his Son") the application is shifted from the Son to the church (see too Eph. 1:5). Again, there is no evidence of Ps. 2:7 influence.<sup>155</sup>

Since 1) II Sam. 7:12,14 accounts for Rom. 1:3 and 4, 2) the evidence from 4QPBless and the LXX of Dan. 6 at best only opens up the possibility (not a proof) that  $\rho\pi$  lies behind  $\pi\rho\omicron\omicron\rho\acute{\iota}\zeta\epsilon\iota\nu$ , and 3) none of the other examples clearly links  $(\pi\rho\omicron)\acute{\omicron}\rho\acute{\iota}\zeta\epsilon\iota\nu$  to Ps. 2, it seems correct to conclude that if Ps. 2:7 did influence the formation of a pre-Pauline christological creed before its incorporation into Rom. 1:3,4, such an influence has been so obscured that in the present form of the creed no distinctive evidence of the influence of Ps. 2:7 remains.

#### G. Summary

It has been argued that the synagogue homily delivered at Pisidian Antioch contains traditional materials which preserve some distinctively Pauline reminiscences. The quotation from Ps. 2:7 probably goes back to Paul and thus is to be dated pre-50 A.D.. The text follows the LXX which in turn follows the M.T. As a whole the IF is probably Lukan: the  $\psi\alpha\lambda\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$  can definitely be credited to Luke. The  $\pi\rho\omega\tau\omicron\varsigma$  of D is to be rejected because the Jewish tradition of writing Pss. 1 and 2 as one psalm cannot be confidently attested for the first century A.D.. Thus Luke, who supplied the number, must have written  $\delta\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$ .

For the use of Ps. 2:7 in Acts 13:33 the crucial question is to what does  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\sigma\alpha\varsigma$  refer — resurrection or appearance of Jesus? The arguments for the resurrection focus on 1) the uninterrupted discussion of the resurrection in vss. 30-37, 2) the relation of vs. 33 to vss. 34ff, 3) the qualifying objects associated with  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\eta\mu\iota$  and 4) the use of Ps. 2:7 in Heb.

1:5. None of these were found to be conclusive. Furthermore, this understanding of Ps. 2:7 lacks confirmation in the early Fathers. On the other hand, the arguments for the appearance of Jesus focus on 1) the break in thought between vss. 31 and 32, 2) the advance in thought from non-resurrection in vs. 33 to simply the resurrection in vss. 34ff and 3) the omission of *ἐκ νεκρῶν* after *ἀναστῆσας* in vs. 33 which in the light of Lukan style is most significant. Thus *ἀναστῆσας* , and therefore Ps. 2:7, probably refers to the appearance of Jesus.

Although Ps. 2:7 contributes to the homily an expression of Jesus' sonship, there is no stress laid upon this. Ps. 2:7 functions as a midrashic restatement of part of the *ἐπαγγελία* /haftarah (II Sam. 7:12ff) and as an enthronement proclamation. The explicit promise - fulfillment schema indicates a pesher hermeneutical stance.

Finally, the evidence for an allusion to Ps. 2:7 in Rom. 1:4 was assessed and found to be inadequate.

### III Hebrews 1:5, 5:5

#### A. Introduction

Of the three full citations of Ps. 2:7 in the N.T.<sup>156</sup>, two are found in the Epistle<sup>157</sup> to the Hebrews. To understand the use of Ps. 2:7 in Hebrews, it is not necessary to raise again the problems of authorship, provenance, destination and date.<sup>158</sup> It is assumed here that it was directed toward a Jewish Christian audience (Palestine-Syria, Rome or Corinth) and that it was a live option for them to return to Judaism. For both passages the following questions will be discussed: 1) introductory formula and text, 2) contribution of the citation to the argument, 3) function of the quotation in its immediate and wider context and 4) hermeneutical stance and techniques. For both passages the most important area of discussion is the contribution Ps. 2:7 makes to the argument.

#### B. Hebrews 1:5 (1:2)

##### 1. Introductory Formula and Text Form

Ps. 2:7 is introduced with a rhetorical question: τίς γὰρ εἶπεν ποτε τῶν ἀγγέλων (1:5). The only N.T. parallel to such an introduction is Heb. 1:13 which ends the catena of O.T. quotations: πρὸς τίνα δὲ τῶν ἀγγέλων εἴρηκέν ποτε. Strictly speaking, the IF in Heb. 1:5 is εἶπέν. The unexpressed subject is God.<sup>159</sup> The citation of Ps. 2:7 is in agreement with the LXX which in turn is in agreement with the M.T.

##### 2. Contribution of Ps. 2:7 to the Argument of Hebrews 1,2

a. The argument of chapters 1,2 is clearly stated in Heb. 1:4: "having become as much superior to angels as the name he has obtained

is more excellent than theirs." Why has the author of Hebrews shown that Christ as Son is superior to the angels? It has been suggested that the recipients were facing a situation in which angels were held in such high esteem as to endanger the rightful place of Christ.<sup>160</sup> This suggestion may gain some support from the Qumran finds,<sup>161</sup> but it is not necessary to look outside of Hebrews for an adequate explanation of the author's reason for emphasizing Christ's place above the angels.<sup>162</sup> The  $\sigma\iota\alpha\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron$ <sup>163</sup> of Heb. 2:1 evinces a specific reason for the comparison of the Son to the angels: "For if the message declared by angels was valid and every transgression or disobedience received a just retribution, how shall we escape if we neglect such a great salvation? It was declared at first by the Lord ...." (2:2,3). Thus, if Christ is superior to the highest representative of the old dispensation,<sup>164</sup> i.e. the angels who were regarded by the Jews of the first century A.D. as the mediators of the (old) covenant<sup>165</sup> (cf. the prophets of 1:1 as another representative of that age), his message and that of his apostles (2:3) is superior to theirs.<sup>166</sup> The appeal of such an argument to a group of Jewish Christians faced with the possibility of returning to Judaism is obvious.

b. Having ascertained the argument of Heb. 1,2, it must be asked what is the precise contribution of Ps. 2:7 to this argument? To do this the general (1:4b) and the specific (1:5a) introduction of the citation must be examined. In Heb. 1:4b it is asserted that "the name he has obtained is more excellent than theirs." The author, who was well versed in the O.T., probably understood "name" in the Semitic sense, i.e. an expression of ones nature, rank and dignity.<sup>167</sup> The context (1:2,5,6,8) makes it clear that the name is "Son".<sup>168</sup> The rhetorical question "For to what angel did God

ever say...?" introduces Ps. 2:7 (and II Sam. 7:14) and implies that God never called any specific angel "Son".<sup>169</sup> Thus the precise contribution of Ps. 2:7 to the argument of Heb. 1:2 is to supply the name "Son" for Jesus.<sup>170</sup>

The meaning of the name "Son" is determined by the immediate context. The contrast of ἐπ' ἐσχάτου τῶν ἡμερῶν τούτων (1:2) with πάλαι (1:1) signals the inauguration of the messianic age.<sup>171</sup> Thus υἱός in 1:2,5 has some messianic overtones; but the anarthrous ἐν υἱῷ, the description of the Son in Heb. 1:2b,3 and the application of Θεός (1:8) and κύριε (1:10) to the Son<sup>172</sup> demonstrate that the divinity of the Son is to the forefront.

c. Is it adequate to say that the contribution of Ps. 2:7 (and II Sam. 7:14) is simply to provide the name "Son" for Jesus? Or should one go further, as is often the case, and assert that Ps. 2:7 is to be connected with a particular day? The basic reason why some commentators have connected Ps. 2:7 with a particular event in the life of Christ is the occurrence of σήμερον in the quotation. They ask, "Which day?" Is this a false step?

σήμερον is used some eight times in the Epistle (1:5; 3:7, 13,15; 4:7 twice; 5:5; 13:8). In direct connection with the thrice repeated quotation of Ps. 95:7 ("Today, when you hear his voice", 3:7,15; 4:7), σήμερον is singled out for emphasis (3:13; 4:7). No such special attention, however, is accorded the σήμερον of Ps. 2:7 in Heb. 1:5 or 5:5;<sup>173</sup> and it is incorrect to argue that the stressing of the σήμερον of Ps. 95:7 implies the stressing of the σήμερον of Ps. 2:7.<sup>174</sup> Nevertheless; many have taken the step of emphasizing σήμερον.

Those who have taken such a step connect Ps. 2:7 to the

resurrection,<sup>175</sup> the exaltation<sup>176</sup> or some other event<sup>177</sup> in the life of Christ. The idea of connecting Ps. 2:7 to the resurrection is unlikely because the resurrection receives almost no attention in Hebrews.<sup>178</sup> On the other hand, there is a definite reference to the exaltation (or enthronement) in Heb. 1:3 (ἐκάθισεν ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς μεγαλωσύνης ἐν ὑψηλοῦς) which contains an allusion to Ps. 110:1 (cf. 1:13 where Ps. 110:1 is cited). The most recent and fully developed case for taking Ps. 2:7 in Heb. 1:5 as "eine Erhöhungsaussage" is set forth by Lohfink.<sup>179</sup> First, he states that, "Der gelehrte Verfasser des Hebräerbriefes wird gewusst haben, dass Ps. 2:7 ein Inthronisationsschema zugrunde liegt. Er verrät ja auch sonst eine überraschende Kenntnis des Alten Testaments und seiner Theologie."<sup>180</sup> As far as it goes this statement is probably correct, but it does not prove that Ps. 2:7 in Heb. 1:6 is used in an enthronement schema.

Secondly, Lohfink argues that, "Offensichtlich ist mit dem κρείττων γεγόμενος [1:4a] ein ganz konkretes Geschehen, nämlich die zuvor genannte Inthronisation, gemeint."<sup>181</sup> Agreed. And he asserts that "Da nun Vers. 4 die Einleitung und Themaangabe für eine längere Zitatenkette liefert, welche die Verse 5-13 umfasst, so ergibt sich allein schon aus Vers 4, dass es im folgenden nicht nur um die Grösse und Erhabenheit des Sohnesnamens Jesu geht, sondern zugleich um das Geschehen, bei dem er einen solchen Namen erhielt."<sup>182</sup> A two-part objection, however, must be registered. 1) Lohfink shows no cognizance of the implication that can be drawn from the comparative structure of Heb. 1:4, i.e. τούτῳ ... ὅτι. Michel observes that, "Fast ist der Gedanke der Form nach proportional: die Macht des Sohnes verhält sich zur Macht der Engel wie der Name des Sohnes zu dem der Engel."<sup>183</sup>



This comparative or proportional structure of Heb. 1:4 indicates that the time factor of Heb. 1:4b (ὅσω διαφορώτερον παρ' αὐτοὺς κεκληρονόμηκεν ὄνομα) is not dependent upon the time factor of Heb. 1:4a (and 1:3b), i.e. the

exaltation. This distinction is reinforced by the contrast of

γενόμενος (aorist participle, 1:4a) with κεκληρονόμηκεν (perfect indicative 1:4b)<sup>184</sup> and by the observation that Hebrews

clearly declares that Jesus is Son before the exaltation (1:2 and 5:8,

καίπερ ὧν υἱὸς ἔμαθεν ἀφ' ὧν ἔπαθεν τὴν ὑπακοήν).<sup>185</sup> 2) Accepting Heb. 1:3b,4 (ἐκάθισεν ... ὄνομα) as the general introduction of the O.T. catena

(1:5-13), it would appear that the author of Hebrews in characteristic fashion<sup>186</sup> has taken up the various parts of the introduction in

reverse (chiastic) order. This introduction has three parts: (a)

exaltation ("he sat down at the right hand of the Majesty on high", 1:3b), (b) Son has become greater than angels<sup>187</sup> ("having become as

much superior to angels", 1:4a) and (c) name obtained ("as the name he has obtained is more excellent than theirs", 1:4b). In the

catena "c" is attested by Ps. 2:7 and II Kings 7:14 LXX (II Sam.

7:14) (1:5), "b" is attested by Deut. 32:43 LXX, Ps. 103:4 LXX,

Ps. 44:7,8 LXX and Ps. 101:26-28 LXX (1:6-12) and "a" is attested

by Ps. 109:1 LXX (1:13). Thus Ps. 2:7 is introduced by Heb. 1:4b<sup>188</sup>

which is not to be connected with the time factor (exaltation) of Heb. 1:3b,4a.<sup>189</sup>

Thirdly, Lohfink argues that Ps. 2:7 is connected with the exaltation in Heb. 5:5 and therefore should be connected to the exaltation in Heb. 1:5.<sup>190</sup> At best this argument is supplementary to other contextual arguments because it is possible that the author could have used the same verse in different ways. The main

objection, however, is that Ps. 2:7 does not refer to the exaltation in Heb. 5:5 (see below).

Furthermore, if in Heb. 1:5 (and 5:5) Ps. 2:7 clearly refers to the exaltation of Jesus, it is reasonable to expect that some traces of this tradition would have been preserved in the extensive use of Ps. 2:7 by the Fathers. But Ps. 2:7 is never associated with the exaltation in the first three centuries.<sup>190a</sup> How can this omission be explained? Perhaps the early association of Ps. 2:7 with the baptism displaced its association with the exaltation. This might be a plausible explanation if the full citation of Ps. 2:7 in the so-called "Western" text of Lk. 3:22 were original, but it will be shown below that the evidence for this is very weak. Thus from the very beginning the association of Ps. 2:7 with the baptism as attested in the allusion to it in the baptism voice — if indeed there is such an allusion — completely displaced the association of Ps. 2:7 with the exaltation as attested in the quotation of Ps. 2:7 in Heb. 1:5 (and 5:5). This is improbable. Indeed, Clement (I Clement 36,4; Loeb I, 70), Origen (Homily on Luke XXX 1,4; G.C.S. 2nd ed. IX, 177) and Athanasius (Oratio IV Contra Arianos II, 16,7; P.G. XXVI, 196) quote Ps. 2:7 in connection with Heb. 1 but do not refer to the exaltation. Since Heb. 1:3 neither stresses the *σήμερον* nor provides evidence that Ps. 2:7 is to be connected to the resurrection or exaltation, it is adequate to state that the contribution of Ps. 2:7 is to attest the name "Son" for Jesus.<sup>191</sup>

d. The allusion to Ps. 2:7,8 in Heb. 1:2 is introduced here because the meaning of Son in Heb. 1:2 helps to define the contribution of Ps. 2:7 in Heb. 1:5. That there is some degree of probability that the "Son" of Heb. 1:2 is an allusion to Ps. 2:7

rests primarily upon the employment of Ps. 2:7 in Heb. 1:5 as the key text to establish the title Son. This is supplemented by the observation that ὃν ἔθηκεν κληρονόμον πάντων is parallel to the thought of Ps. 2:8<sup>192</sup> ( τὸ πρόσταγμα κυρίου ... δώσω σοι ἔθνη τὴν κληρονομίαν σου , Ps. 2:7, 8 LXX) and that the association of Son (Messiah)<sup>193</sup> and heir of Heb. 1:2, which is rare in biblical<sup>194</sup> and extra-biblical pre-Christian literature, is paralleled in Ps. 2:7,8. Commenting on the significance of Son in Heb. 1:2, Westcott writes that the anarthrous ἐν υἱῷ "fixes attention upon the nature and not upon the personality of the Mediator...."<sup>195</sup> In light of the exordium's portrayal of the Son (1:3,4), there can be little doubt that the Son here "means complete participation in the Father's deity."<sup>196</sup> Furthermore, the exordium shows that the Son is described in language which reflects Wisdom-Logos christology: ὅς ὢν ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης καὶ χαρακτήρ τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ, φέρων τε τὰ πάντα τῷ ῥήματι τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ (1:3). The exact source(s) of the language and concepts plus the question of form (hymn?) are much discussed,<sup>197</sup> but it is clear that the author of Hebrews has joined his Son christology to a Wisdom-Logos christology.<sup>198</sup>

ὃν ἔθηκεν κληρονόμον πάντων calls for some comment. First, there has been much debate over the time factor of ἔθηκεν : pre-temporal,<sup>199</sup> incarnation,<sup>200</sup> exaltation<sup>201</sup> or indeterminable.<sup>202</sup> A plausible solution to this problem is found in the suggestion that the appointment is pre-temporal but the actual taking possession of πάντων

probably occurs at the exaltation.<sup>203</sup> Secondly, in light of the close connection between Son and heir, there is no warrant for translating κληρονόμον as "rightful owner".<sup>204</sup> Thirdly πάντων is best translated "whole universe" (N.E.B.) or "all" but not "all things" (R.S.V.).<sup>205</sup> Fourthly, if "who he appointed heir of the whole universe" is an allusion to Ps. 2:8, then it is most significant because there is only one other allusion to Ps. 2:8 in the N.T., i.e. Rev. 2:26. On the one hand, the use of Ps. 2:8 is in line with the pre-Christian Traditionsgeschichte because it finds its fulfillment in the messianic age, i.e. "these last day" of Heb. 1:2. On the other hand, it differs from the pre-Christian Traditionsgeschichte in two ways. 1) The allusion to Ps. 2:8 in Heb. 1:2 does not reflect the destroy-the-gentiles motif generally associated with Ps. 2 (P.S. 17:26, see ch. II). In this respect the lack of a destroy-the-gentiles motif in Heb. 1:2 can be compared to the similar use of Ps. 2:1,2 in Acts 4:25,26 (see ch. III) and contrasted with the use of Ps. 2:8,9 in Rev. 2:26,27 (see ch. V). It is possible that the use of Ps. 2:8 in Heb. 1:2 opens the way for the shift from the destroy-the-gentiles motif of pre N.T. (and post N.T.) Judaism to the positive attitude of the Church Fathers<sup>206</sup> who used Ps. 2:8 as a text associated with the evangelization of the gentiles. 2) The scope of the inheritance has been broadened from the gentiles and the ends of the earth (Ps. 2:8, cf P.S. 17:25,26 where inheritance equals Jerusalem) to the "whole universe".

### 3. Function of Ps. 2:7

a. Having considered the question of what Ps. 2:7 contributes to the argument, it must now be asked how Ps. 2:7 is used in its immediate and wider context. In its immediate context Schröger

points out that Ps. 2:7 is used in the schema of "messianisch gedeutete Verheissung — Erfüllung in der Person Christi."<sup>207</sup>

He bases this conclusion upon his belief that the author of Hebrews knows of Ps. 2:7 in a messianically interpreted form. This is quite probable (see below), but it does not follow from this that he employed Ps. 2:7 in the schema of prophecy-fulfillment. Rather, the general introduction of Heb. 1:4b ("as the name he has obtained is more excellent than theirs") and the specific rhetorical question of Heb. 1:5a ("For to what angel did God ever say...?")<sup>208</sup> indicate that Ps. 2:7 functions as a Schriftbeweis whose contribution is to attest that Jesus is called "Son". The function of Ps. 2:7 as a Schriftbeweis, of course, does presuppose that Jesus had already been seen as the fulfillment of the Ps. 2:7 prophecy.

b. In its wider context (1:4-14) Ps. 2:7 is one of seven Schriftbeweise. These attest Jesus' sonship (1:5), his consequent superiority to the angels (1:6-12) and his exaltation (1:13). This catena of O.T. texts has been described as a list of testimonia<sup>209</sup> and as a florilegium.<sup>210</sup> The exact source of this catena has been much disputed. At the beginning of this century, Harris put forth his influential "Testimony Book" theory based primarily upon the third century Testimonia of Cyprian. Harris cites Testimonia Adversus Judaeos by Gregory of Nyssa (P.G. XLVI, 197),<sup>211</sup> where Gen. 11:7, Ps. 109:3 LXX, Ps. 71:17, Ps. 2:7 and II Sam. 7:14 are quoted, as proof of the existence of a "Testimony Book" upon which Hebrews is dependent. Yet a similar set of citations (Ps. 2:7, Deut. 32:43, Ps. 104:4, Ps. 45:6,7, Ps. 102:25-27) in Contra Eunomium IV (P.G. XLV, 632), which are cited in exactly the same order as Heb. 1:5ff and are introduced by ἅλλ' ἀκουσάτωσαν τῆς μεγάλης τοῦ Παύλου φωνῆς, show that Gregory is dependent upon Hebrews.<sup>212</sup>

A theory related to this, but not espousing a "Testimony Book", is advocated by Hay who asserts that Heb. 1 and I Clement 36 rely upon a common source which probably existed in writing.<sup>213</sup> Hay bases his position upon the research of Theissen who has attempted to demonstrate through a comparison and contrast of I Clement 36 with Heb. 1 that I Clement 36 is not dependent upon Heb. 1. His main arguments are 1) that I Clement 36:1 (cf. 61:3, 64:1) calls Christ not only τὸν ἀρχιερέα but also τὸν προστάτην (which Hebrews does not do) and 2) that nowhere in I Clement is the death of Christ combined with Christ's priesthood (which is the case in Hebrews).<sup>214</sup> The non-occurrence of "the Protector" in Hebrews, however, does not prove that the whole of I Clement 36 was taken over from a source other than Hebrews.<sup>215</sup> The second proof fails because I Clement, unlike Hebrews (esp. ch. 1-10), is not a well-developed theological homily but rather a lengthy, rambling exhortation to avoid sin, namely pride.<sup>216</sup> Furthermore, Hagner's detailed study of the use of the O.T. and N.T. in I Clement finds several other passages in I Clement that are dependent upon Hebrews: this argues against Theissen's view.<sup>217</sup>

Montefiore thinks that it is probable that the catena is drawn from a selection of texts which were grouped together along the lines outlined by Dodd. In this process of selection and application there is scope for "'shift of application and modification of text'".<sup>218</sup> His evidence that the author of Hebrews has not put together this catena of O.T. texts but has relied upon some sort of oral tradition is 1) that the O.T. quotes "are introduced without explanation apart from a brief introduction to the third quotation" and 2) that the selection of the seven



testimonia seems ill-adapted for the purpose of showing Christ's superiority to the angels because only one of them in the LXX contains the word "angels".<sup>219</sup> The first objection overlooks the fact that in addition to the introduction of Deut. 32:43 in Heb. 1:6 there is also a definite introduction of Ps. 2:7 (and II Sam. 7:14) in Heb. 1:5 and of Ps. 110:1 in Heb. 1:13 as well as a clear indication (Heb. 1:8) of the intended use of Ps. 104:4, Ps. 45:6,7, and Ps. 102:25-27. The second one seems forced and fails to note the chiastic link between the introduction (1:3,4) and the quotations (1:5-13, see above).<sup>220</sup>

The evidence suggests that the author of Hebrews was the first one to assemble this catena of O.T. texts. He may have taken over some Jewish and/or Christian tradition(s),<sup>221</sup> e.g. the tradition of linking Ps. 2 to II Sam 7.<sup>222</sup> Hence, in the wider context of Heb. 1:4-14, Ps. 2:7 functions as one of a catena of O.T. Schriftbeweise which in part (Ps. 2:7-II Sam. 7:14)<sup>223</sup> may have been taken over from tradition.<sup>224</sup>

#### 4. Hermeneutical Stance and Techniques

a. Very little has been written about the elusive hermeneutical stance of Heb. 1:5.<sup>225</sup> What has been written either blurs the distinction between hermeneutical stance and function<sup>226</sup> or confuses hermeneutical stance with hermeneutical technique.<sup>227</sup> If the function of Ps. 2:7 in Heb. 1:5 were to state the prophecy in a prophecy-fulfillment schema (cf. Acts 4:25ff), it would be possible to characterize the hermeneutical stance in Heb. 1:5 as pesher. The function of Ps. 2:7 in Heb. 1:5, however, is that of a Schriftbeweis (see above); and as such the exegesis leading up to this function is presupposed in Heb. 1:5. It is possible that behind the present form of the text lies a tradition of exegesis

in which Jesus was seen as the fulfillment of Ps. 2:7. This tradition of exegesis could be characterized as *peshet* because its point of departure was the contemporary recognition of Jesus' sonship. Whether the author of Hebrews was directly responsible for this *peshet* exegesis or has taken it over from a tradition of exegesis in which Jesus had been recognized as the fulfillment of Ps. 2:7 (*peshet* stance), is difficult, if not impossible, to determine. The linking of Ps. 2:7 to II Sam. 7:14 may point to a taking over of such a linking from the tradition, e.g. Acts 13. This would indicate that the author also took over the application of Ps. 2:7 to Jesus from tradition because the only known linking of these two texts, apart from Heb. 1:5, is found in a Christian tradition (i.e. Acts 13) which had applied Ps. 2:7 to Jesus. On the other hand, it is possible that the obviously creative author of Hebrews independently linked Ps. 2:7 to II Sam. 7:14. At any rate, it can be stated that a *peshet* stance was involved in the exegesis leading up to the use of Ps. 2:7 in Heb. 1:5 as a Schriftbeweis. The stance of Ps. 2:7 as it is employed in Heb. 1:5 can be labeled literal.

b. As to hermeneutical technique in Heb. 1:5 Schröger suggests that Ps. 2:7 and II Sam. 7:14 were brought together "nach... rabbinischen Auslegungsregeln",<sup>228</sup> i.e. gezerah shawah. Beside the fact that this combination may have been taken over from tradition,<sup>229</sup> the problem of the definition of terms arises. According to Jacobs gezerah shawa refers to the Rabbinic practice of comparing two similar laws from the Pentateuch on the basis of a verbal agreement.<sup>230</sup> While there is verbal agreement between Ps. 2:7 and II Sam. 7:14, namely "Son", these two texts are not laws and they are not taken from the Pentateuch.<sup>231</sup> For two texts that agree in content (not

just verbally), there is no need to explain their linking on the basis of gezerah shawah.

### C. Hebrews 5:5

#### 1. Introductory Formula and Text Form

Taking IF in a broad sense, Ps. 2:7 (and Ps. 109:4 LXX) is introduced by Heb. 5:4, 5a<sup>a</sup>, but the question about a specific IF for Ps. 2:7 in vs. 5a<sup>b</sup> (ὁ λαλήσας πρὸς αὐτόν) is complicated and will be taken up in the next section. The text of Ps. 2:7 in Heb. 1:5 is in agreement with the LXX which in turn is in agreement with the M.T.

#### 2. The Contribution of Ps. 2:7 to the Argument of Hebrews 4:14-7:28

a. In recent years much attention has been given to the argument and structure of Hebrews.<sup>232</sup> No attempt is made here to go into this discussion, but the basic argument of chs. 1-7 will be sketched so that the contribution of Ps. 2:7 may be properly ascertained. In chs. 1-2 the Son is shown to be greater than the angels. The superiority of the Son to the angels leads to an exhortation (2:1-4). Then a possible objection to this argument — i.e. during the incarnation the Son "was made lower than the angels" (2:9) — is answered. In the second section (3:1-4:13) the Son, who is an apostle and high priest, is shown to be greater than Moses.<sup>233</sup> With the words "we are his [Son's] house if we hold fast our confidence and pride in our hope" (3:6) the author signals a move into a lengthy exhortation (3:7-4:13) to "hold our first confidence firm to the end" (3:14). In the third section (4:14-7:28) the Son of God, who is declared to be a great high priest after the order of Melchizedek, is shown to be greater than

the priests after the order of Aaron. This section begins with an exhortation (4:14-16) to hold fast to the *ὁμολογία* (Jesus, the Son of God) and to draw near to the throne of grace. This is followed by a statement (5:1-10) of the requirements for the priesthood (humanity and divine appointment) and of Christ's fulfillment of these requirements. The last words of Heb. 5:10, "a high priest 'after the order of Melchizedek'" (Ps. 110:4), indicate the theme now to be expanded; however, the author feels compelled to digress from this theme and to exhort (5:11-6:20) the recipients because this theme has in it things "hard to explain" and the recipients have become "dull of hearing". At the end of this digression, the author signals his return to this theme by citing "after the order of Melchizedek" (6:20) from Ps. 110:4. Then (ch. 7) he proceeds to show that Melchizedek is superior to Levi. Consequently, Christ, who is "after the order of Melchizedek", is superior to the Levitical priesthood. Thus the Son has been shown to be greater than the best representatives of the old covenant, i.e. the angels, Moses, and the Aaronic priesthood. The impact of this argument upon Jewish Christians who were in danger of returning to Judaism needs no elucidation.

b. What is the precise contribution of Ps. 2:7 to this argument? That Ps. 2:7 in some way is associated with the divine appointment to the priestly office is made clear by the chiasmic structure of Heb. 5:1-10.<sup>234</sup> Heb. 5:1-4 outlines the qualifications of a high priest, and Heb. 5:5-10 demonstrates that Christ possesses them. 1) After an introductory statement (5:1) of the high priest's appointment (*καθίσταται*), it is declared that 2) he must offer gifts and sacrifices for sin (5:1b), 3) he must be able to "deal gently with the ignorant and wayward, since he himself is beset with weakness" (5:2), and 4) he must be divinely

appointed (5:4). These are taken up in reverse order and shown to be fulfilled in Christ. (4) In Heb. 5:5,6, Ps. 2:7 and Ps. 110:4 are associated with his divine appointment, (3) Heb. 5:7,8 shows that he was truly human and thus able to identify with men, (2) Heb. 5:9 indicates that he has dealt with the problem of sin and (1) Heb. 5:10 repeats in summary fashion the fact of his divine appointment.

There is not only a chiastic relation between Heb. 5:1-4 and Heb. 5:5-10 but also a parallel relation between the two sections that deal with the divine appointment (5:4-6). The negative assertion set forth in Heb. 5:4a (καὶ οὐχ ἑαυτῷ τις λαμβάνει τὴν τιμὴν) is paralleled in Heb. 5:5a (οὕτως καὶ ὁ χριστὸς οὐχ ἑαυτὸν ἐδόξασεν γεννηθῆναι ἀρχιερέα). The positive requirement of a call by God to the priesthood (5:4b) finds its complement in Christ's appointment by God in Heb. 5:5b where Ps. 2:7 and Ps. 110:4 are cited. That Ps. 110:4 (σὺ ἱερεὺς εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα κατὰ τὴν τάξιν Μελχισέδεκ) speaks of appointment to the priesthood is clear, but what of Ps. 2:7? At least since the time of Calvin, commentators have remarked that Ps. 2:7 is not a Schriftbeweis for the priesthood of Christ;<sup>235</sup> nevertheless, they treat Ps. 2:7 and Ps. 110:4 as if they were co-ordinate.<sup>236</sup> Those who hold this co-ordinate view of Ps. 2:7 and Ps. 110:4 maintain differing positions as to the contribution Ps. 2:7 makes to the argument.

First, a few scholars who have noted that in Heb. 5:5,6 sonship is linked to priesthood believe that this link can be explained in light of the Test. of Levi 4:2 and 18:2,6 where a priest is called son.<sup>237</sup> In addition to the admission of Friedrich that his case is

not conclusive,<sup>238</sup> several other objections to this use of the

Test. of Levi can be registered. In the Test. of Levi 4:2 (καὶ

γενέσθαι αὐτῷ υἱὸν καὶ Θεράποντα  
καὶ λειτουργὸν τοῦ προσώπου αὐτοῦ )

it is evident 1) that υἱὸν is not a title because it is linked

to Θεράποντα and λειτουργὸν,<sup>239</sup> 2) that the priest becomes a son, but in Hebrews the Son becomes a priest,<sup>240</sup>

3) that the priest is after the order of Levi, but Christ's

priesthood is after the order of Melchizedek and 4) that there is

uncertainty about the text due to the possibility of Christian

interpolations (see Test. of Levi 4:4b).<sup>241</sup> 5) In the Test. of Levi

18:2,6 there is again the problem of Christian interpolations.<sup>242</sup>

6) Concerning the sonship of the priest in 18:6 (μετὰ φωνῆς  
πατρικῆς), Hahn cautions that it "does not without more ado  
declare anything regarding the divine sonship of the high priest."<sup>243</sup>

7) Even if the Test. of Levi did provide the source<sup>244</sup> of the  
linking of sonship and priesthood, it does not provide an explanation  
as to why sonship and priesthood were linked. The next three  
positions offer explanations of the relation of sonship (Ps. 2:7)  
to priesthood (Ps. 110:4).

A second group holds that the messianic sonship affirmed by  
Ps. 2:7 includes the honor of priesthood.<sup>245</sup> This is plausible,  
but evidence that the author of Hebrews viewed priesthood as  
including<sup>246</sup> sonship is lacking.<sup>247</sup>

A third group asserts that sonship is to be understood in terms  
of kingship.<sup>248</sup> Thus Christ is both king (Ps. 2:7) and priest  
(Ps. 110:4) on analogy with Melchizedek (Heb. 7:1-3). In the light  
of the use of Melchizedek in Heb. 7, this is an attractive theory.  
There is, however, no emphasis placed upon Christ's kingship in the



christology of Hebrews:<sup>249</sup> the explanation of Melchizedek's kingship in Heb. 7:1,2 is subordinate to the main use made of the Melchizedek-Christ typology, i.e. Melchizedek is a ἱερεὺς εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα (Heb. 5:6; 7:17,21,24,28) and a ἱερεὺς εἰς τὸ διηνεκές (Heb. 7:3).<sup>250</sup>

A fourth group conceives of Ps. 2:7 as contributing some step of preparation that is necessary before Christ's priesthood can be asserted in terms of Ps. 110:4.<sup>251</sup> The lack of precision and exegetical support in defining this preparatory step leaves the exact relation of Ps. 2:7 to Ps. 110:4 and the contribution of Ps. 2:7 unsolved.

All four of these positions declare or assume that Ps. 2:7 is grammatically co-ordinate with Ps. 110:4.<sup>252</sup> This position demands that the participle λαλήσας in Heb. 5:5b (ἀλλ' ὁ λαλήσας πρὸς αὐτόν) be understood as functioning as an indicative and thus co-ordinate with the indicative of Heb. 5:6, i.e. λέγει. On the other hand, there are exegetes who understand the function of λαλήσας to be participial, i.e. "the one who said to him 'You are my son, today I have begotten you'" = Θεός.<sup>253</sup> Such an understanding of the function of λαλήσας can be supported by the following considerations.

1) Although it is not impossible for a participle to function as an indicative, the judgement of Moulton is that such a use "was not in the vernacular very common."<sup>254</sup> There are several examples of the use of the present participle as a present indicative in Koine Greek,<sup>255</sup> but it is most uncommon for an aorist participle to be employed as an aorist indicative (cf. II Cor. 11:6). 2) As noted above the οὕτως of Heb. 5:5a indicates the obvious parallel between the requirements for priesthood (vs. 4) and the specific fulfillment of

such in Christ (vs. 5). The negative requirement of vs. 4a ("And one does not take the honor upon himself") is matched by the negative statement of vs. 5a ("So also Christ did not exalt himself to be made a high priest"). Likewise, the positive requirement of appointment in vs. 4b<sup>256</sup> should find a parallel in vs. 5b. If

λαλήσας is taken as an indicative, then ὁ λαλήσας πρὸς αὐτόν becomes an IF<sup>257</sup> for Ps. 2:7 and is parallel to ἐν ἑτέρῳ λέγει (vs. 6) which is the IF for Ps.

110:4. But such an understanding of λαλήσας (vs. 5b) does not provide a parallel to καλούμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ (vs. 4b).<sup>258</sup> It is better to take λαλήσας as a

participle ("the one who said to him 'You are my son, today I have begotten you'") and to supply, as several commentators have suggested, the words ἐδόξασεν αὐτόν (γεννηθῆναι ἀρχιερέα).<sup>259</sup> 3) The author of Hebrews uses καθώς in connection with the introduction of an O.T. citation in a distinct pattern: proposition, καθώς, he says (or said), O.T.

citation.<sup>260</sup> In this pattern καθώς links the proposition and the Schriftbeweis and indicates that the latter attests the former.

καθώς has the force of "thus". This pattern creates a presumption in favor of understanding the καθώς of Heb. 5:6 in the same way.<sup>261</sup> Such a use of καθώς in Heb. 5:6 necessitates the presence of a proposition in vs. 5b. The proposition that makes the best sense in such a context is the one suggested above in which λαλήσας functions as a participle,<sup>262</sup> i.e. "the one who said to him, 'You are my son, today I have begotten you' glorified him (to be made a high priest)." In light of these arguments, it is probable that λαλήσας functions as a participle in this context.

If this conclusion is accepted, it would indicate that Ps. 2:7

is used adjectivally in relation to the speaker, i.e. God; and it shows that λαλήσας is not co-ordinate with λέγει (5:6). These two observations lead to a third one: Ps. 2:7 is not co-ordinate with Ps. 110:4. What implications do these observations have for the contribution of Ps. 2:7?

Negatively, it can be stated that Ps. 2:7 is not introduced to specify which god is speaking or that the same one who spoke Ps. 2:7 now speaks Ps. 110:4. Neither the author nor the recipients of Hebrews was in any doubt about these matters. Positively, the grammatical structure of Heb. 5:5,6 indicates that Ps. 2:7 is indirectly — not co-ordinately — related to Ps. 110:4. Thus Ps. 2:7 is not a direct Schriftbeweis for Christ's priesthood. Ps. 2:7 attests the sonship of Christ that is in some sense a prerequisite for Christ's priesthood.<sup>263</sup> To ascertain the precise contribution of Ps. 2:7 to the argument of Heb. 4:14-7:28, it will be necessary 1) to inquire if elsewhere Hebrews brings together sonship and priesthood and, if so, then 2) to discover, if possible, why the writer connects sonship and priesthood.

The sonship of Jesus is expressly mentioned in Heb. 1:2,5 (twice), 8; 3:6; 4:14; 5:5,8; 6:6; 7:3,28; 10:29. Of these twelve references to sonship, four directly (4:14; 5:5; 7:3,28) and three indirectly (1:2; 5:8; 10:29) connect Son and high priest (or priest). In two of these references (7:3,28) there is an indication of why Son and high priest (or priest) are connected. Thus consideration will be given to Heb. 7:3, a comparison of Christ to Melchizedek, and Heb. 7:28, a contrast of Christ with Levi, which respectively constitute the opening and closing statements of the exposition of the Melchizedek-Christ typology (ch. 7).

The main assertion of Heb. 7:3 is that ὁ Μελχισέδεκ

... μένει ἱερεὺς εἰς τὸ διηνεκές .<sup>264</sup>

There is a juxtaposition of sonship and priesthood in 7:3 ("He is without father or mother or genealogy, and has neither beginning of days nor end of life, but resembling the Son of God he continues a priest for ever"). Although the reason for the connection of sonship to priesthood is not made explicit,<sup>265</sup> it appears that Melchizedek remains a priest for ever ( εἰς τὸ διηνεκές )<sup>266</sup> because he has been made like unto the Son of God ( ἀφωμοιωμένος δὲ τῷ υἱῷ τοῦ Θεοῦ ) who in the christology of Hebrews is envisaged as being eternally the Son of God.<sup>267</sup>

Before taking up Heb. 7:28, a brief summary of ch. 7 is helpful. After the presentation of Melchizedek as a priest who remains forever (7:1-3), it is argued in Heb. 7:4-10 that Melchizedek is greater than Levi because Melchizedek is greater than Abraham who in turn is greater than Levi and that Melchizedek "lives" (7:8) but the Levitical priests are mortal. Next it is asserted that Christ is after the order (or likeness) of Melchizedek, and thus supersedes the old order of Aaron (7:11-22). The qualification that enables Christ to become a priest after the order of Melchizedek is that he has "the power of an indestructible life" (7:16). Finally, the Levitical priesthood is contrasted with the new priesthood of Christ (7:23-28). This contrast is succinctly expressed in the second text under consideration, i.e. Heb. 7:28: "Indeed, the law appoints men in their weakness as high priests, but the word of oath, which came later than the law, appoints a Son who has been made perfect for ever." ὁ νόμος is contrasted with ὁ λόγος δὲ τῆς ὀρκωμοσίας τῆς μετὰ τὸν νόμον, ἀνθρώπους with υἱὸν and ἔχοντας ἀσθένειαν with τετελειωμένον. The final contrasting words are

placed last in their respective sentences for emphasis and are to be taken with *ἀνθρώπους* and *υἱόν* respectively.

*καθίστησιν ἀρχιερεῖς* of vs. 28a is to be understood in vs. 28b (in the singular). Hence the sense of vs. 28b is as follows: "But the word of oath which came later than the law appoints a perfected<sup>268</sup> Son to be priest for ever." This leaves *εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα*, an obvious allusion to Ps. 110:4,<sup>269</sup> unparalleled in vs. 28a. Why is Christ's priesthood for ever? As the context of ch. 7 makes clear the priesthood after the order of Aaron is not for ever because the priests are mortal (*ἀποθνήσκοντες ἄνθρωποι*, 7:8); but Christ, as Son of God, has "the power of an indestructible life" (*δύναμιν ζωῆς ἀκαταλύτου*, 7:16). Thus the author's apparent reason for connecting sonship to priesthood in Heb. 7:28b is that Christ's sonship contributed the quality of everlastingness to his priesthood.

Since Heb. 5:1-10 is directly linked in thought development to 7:1-28,<sup>270</sup> the relevance of these comments upon Heb. 7:3,28 to the contribution of Ps. 2:7 in Heb. 5:5 is obvious. Furthermore, if, as many scholars think,<sup>271</sup> *υἱός* of Heb. 7:28 is an allusion to Ps. 2:7, then the juxtaposition of the allusions to Ps. 2:7 (*υἱός*) and Ps. 110:4 (*εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα*) in Heb. 7:28 is parallel to the juxtaposition of the quotations from Ps. 2:7 and Ps. 110:4 in Heb. 5:5,6.

Therefore, in light of these insights from Heb. 7 into the reason for connecting sonship and priesthood, it is arguable that the contribution of Ps. 2:7 in Heb. 5:5 to the argument of Heb. 4:14-7:28 is a declaration of the eternal<sup>272</sup> sonship of Christ which makes it possible for him to be a priest for ever.<sup>273</sup>

c. Some scholars assert that the contribution of Ps. 2:7 to

the argument goes beyond a statement of sonship. The contribution of Ps. 2:7 includes a reference to a specific event in the life of Jesus, e.g. the incarnation,<sup>274</sup> resurrection<sup>275</sup> or exaltation.<sup>276</sup> Generally, this attempt to find a specific event to which Ps. 2:7 may be related is based upon the notion that the *σήμερον* is to be emphasized. As in Heb. 1:5 so in this passage there is nothing in the context that points to an emphasis upon *σήμερον* or to the incarnation or to the resurrection.<sup>277</sup> Most of those who think that Ps. 2:7 should be related to a definite event opt for the exaltation, but this is unlikely for the following reasons. 1) As in Heb. 1:5 so here there is nothing in the context that would indicate that any emphasis is placed by the author upon *σήμερον*. 2) The connection of Ps. 110:4 in this context to the exaltation is debatable.<sup>278</sup> 3) Even if Ps. 110:4 in Heb. 5:6 were related to the exaltation, it has been shown above Ps. 2:7 is not co-ordinate with Ps. 110:4. Therefore, without further proof, the time factor of Ps. 110:4 should not be transferred to Ps. 2:7.<sup>279</sup> 4) To assert that Christ became the Son at the exaltation posits a basic conflict<sup>280</sup> with the clear statement of Heb. 5:8 that "although he was a Son (*καίπερ ὡν υἱὸς* ), he learned obedience" and with the whole of Hebrew's Son christology.

### 3. Function of Ps. 2:7

a. Having considered the question of what Ps. 2:7 contributes to the argument, it must now be asked how Ps. 2:7 is used in its immediate and wider context. As in Heb. 1:5 so here Schröger thinks that in the immediate context it is used in the schema of "messianisch gedeutete Verheissung — Erfüllung in der Person Christi."<sup>281</sup> Apparently, he bases his position on the same evidence given for Heb. 1:5, i.e. the author of Hebrews knows of Ps. 2:7 in



a messianically interpreted form. This is quite probable, but it does not follow from this that he employed Ps. 2:7 in the schema of prophecy-fulfillment. Furthermore, the adjectival use of Ps. 2:7 and the lack of any IF (see above) speak against a prophecy-fulfillment schema. The function of Ps. 2:7 in Heb. 5:5 is that of a Schriftbeweis whose contribution to the argument is to affirm the eternal sonship of Christ.<sup>282</sup> As in Heb. 1:5 so here the function of Ps. 2:7 as a Schriftbeweis does presuppose that Jesus had already been seen as the fulfillment of Ps. 2:7.

b. In its wider context Ps. 2:7 is one of two O.T. texts that are linked, but it is not co-ordinate to Ps. 110:4.

#### 4. Hermeneutical Stance and Techniques

a. What has been stated in connection with the hermeneutical stance of Heb. 1:5 applies here.

b. As in Heb. 1:5 so here Schröger asserts that there is a bringing together of two texts (Ps. 2:7, Ps. 110:4) on the basis of gezerah shawah.<sup>283</sup> In addition to the objections already brought against this position in Heb. 1:5, it should be noted that Ps. 2:7 and Ps. 110:4 have no key word in common and Ps. 2:7 is not co-ordinate with Ps. 110:4.

#### D. Significance of Ps. 2:7 for Hebrews as a Whole

It is clear from the first two chapters of Hebrews that the author believes that a correct view of the person of Christ is fundamental to his argument.<sup>284</sup> The basic expression of this christology is in terms of sonship.<sup>285</sup> The introduction declares that God has spoken in one who is Son (1:2), the focus of the ὁμολογία is "Jesus the Son of God" (4:14),<sup>286</sup> Jesus is repeatedly called Son or Son of God (1:2, 5(twice), 8; 3:6; 4:14;

5:5,8; 6:6; 7:3,28; 10:29),<sup>287</sup> and the argument of Christ's superiority to the representatives of the old covenant is predicated upon the basis of his sonship: the Son is superior to angels (1:4-2:18), the Son is superior to Moses (3:1-4:13, esp. 3:5,6), the Son as high priest is superior to the Aaronic high priests (4:14-7:18). The key text that the author employs to witness to Christ's sonship is Ps. 2:7.<sup>288</sup> Thus Ps. 2:7 is the most important, though not the most frequently cited,<sup>289</sup> testimonium in the Epistle to the Hebrews.<sup>290</sup>

### E. Summary

In Heb. 1:5 Ps. 2:7 is the first of two texts that witness to the title Son for Jesus. In the context of Heb. 1,2 the title Son which here has messianic overtones and emphasizes the divinity of Christ, demonstrates that Christ is superior to the highest representative of the old covenant, i.e. the angels. Some have argued that the "today" points to the resurrection or exaltation of Christ, but there is no stress placed upon the "today" in this context. Furthermore, the resurrection is hardly mentioned in Hebrews. The exaltation, which is referred to in Heb. 1:3, is attested by Ps. 110:1 in Heb. 1:13; but the grammatical structure and verb tenses of Heb. 1:4 plus the total chiasmic pattern of Heb. 1:3-13 show that the time factor of Heb. 1:3b (exaltation) is not related to Heb. 1:5 (or 1:4b). This conclusion is reinforced by the early Fathers who never associate Ps. 2:7 with the exaltation although three of them are dependent upon Heb. 1.

In its immediate context Ps. 2:7 functions as a Schriftbeweis, and in the wider context it is one of seven Schriftbeweise. Various theories have been proposed to account for this catena, but it is most likely that the author of Hebrews was the first to assemble

these testimonia — perhaps drawing upon Jewish or Christian traditions of interpretations. Although Ps. 2:7 is not used in a pesher stance in Heb. 1:5, the literal use of it in this context presupposes such a pesher interpretation.

In Heb. 4:14-7:28 the christological argument reaches its apex: Christ's priesthood is demonstrated to be superior to the Aaronic priesthood. Christ's priesthood is superior because Christ, in contrast with the Aaronic priests who die, is a "priest for ever" (Ps. 110:4). What role does Ps. 2:7 play in this argument? Among those who hold that Ps. 2:7 is co-ordinate with Ps. 110:4, it is asserted that the sonship affirmed by Ps. 2:7 1) includes the honor of priesthood, 2) points to the kingship of Christ or 3) contributes some step of preparation that is necessary for Christ's priesthood. On the other hand, there is evidence showing that λαλῆσας (5:5) functions participally, and thus Ps. 2:7 and Ps. 110:4 are not co-ordinate. Such a grammatical structure indicates that Ps. 2:7 is indirectly — not co-ordinately — related to Ps. 110:4 (Ps. 2:7 is not a Schriftbeweis for Christ's priesthood) and that the sonship of Christ attested by Ps. 2:7 is a prerequisite for Christ's priesthood. The combination of Son and priest in ch. 7 (vss. 3,28), which is a direct continuation and elaboration of the argument commenced in Heb. 5:1-10, makes clear the precise contribution of Ps. 2:7 — the declaration of Christ's eternal sonship. Thus Christ is able to be a "priest for ever".

The attempts to connect Ps. 2:7 in Heb. 5:5 to the incarnation or the resurrection are completely lacking in contextual support, and the attempt to connect Ps. 2:7 to the exaltation overlooks 1) the lack of emphasis on "today" in this context, 2) the non-co-ordinate structure of Ps. 2:7 and Ps. 110:4, and 3) the failure of the Fathers

to verify such a tradition.

In the christological argument showing the superiority of Christ to the old covenant, the foundational christological title is Son and the cornerstone text is Ps. 2:7.

#### IV Baptism and Transfiguration

(Mk. 1:11; Mt. 3:17; Lk. 3:22, Jn. 1:34 and Mk. 9:7;

Mt. 17:5; Lk. 9:35; II Peter 1:17)<sup>291</sup>

##### A. Introduction

Having considered the three explicit quotations of Ps. 2:7, a brief section must be devoted to the alleged allusion to Ps. 2:7 in the voice from heaven at the baptism and the voice from the cloud at the transfiguration. At the baptism the voice from heaven according to the U.B.S. text of Mk. and Lk. declares that σὺ εἶ (οὗτός ἐστιν., Mt.) ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός ἐν σοὶ (ᾧ, Mt.) εὐδόκησα. In dealing with this declaration three crucial questions must be faced. First, has υἱός replaced an original παῖς? Secondly, is the D text of Lk. 3:22 ( υἱός μου εἶ σὺ , ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε ) original? Thirdly, if the first two questions are answered in the negative — which is the position argued here, then it must be asked, Do the words σὺ εἶ ( οὗτός ἐστιν , Mk. 9:7, Mt. 3:17; 17:5; Lk. 9:35, cf II Peter 1:17) ὁ υἱός μου contain a clear allusion to Ps. 2:7?

##### B. Παῖς or Υἱός?

Bousset suggested that παῖς originally stood in the baptismal saying and that later it was altered to υἱός.<sup>292</sup> This suggestion was taken up and developed by Cullmann,<sup>293</sup> Jeremias<sup>294</sup> and others.<sup>295</sup> This position, which has not won widespread support,<sup>296</sup> has recently been challenged in a convincing article by Marshall.<sup>297</sup> But for the purpose at hand, it is sufficient to note that some of those who suppose that the original

reading of the saying was *παῖς μου* suggest that the shift to *υἱός μου* was in part due to the influence from Ps. 2:7. For example Hahn states that, "The utterance itself no longer contains Is. 42:1a exclusively but in its first part leans heavily on the adoptionist word in Ps. 2:7."<sup>298</sup> Thus an original *παῖς μου* does not eliminate the possibility of the influence of Ps. 2:7 at a later stage.

### C. The So-called "Western" Text of Luke 3:22

For the content of the voice from heaven the so-called<sup>299</sup> "Western" text of Lk. 3:22 reads *υἱός μου εἶ συ, ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε*. This is exactly the text of Ps. 2:7 LXX. Many scholars have argued that this reading is original.<sup>300</sup> If the so-called "Western" reading of Lk. 3:22 is original, this would at least show that Luke directly connected the content of the voice with Ps. 2:7. Thus the external and internal evidence for this reading must be scrutinized.

#### 1. External Evidence

For the "Western" reading the U.B.S. text (2nd ed.) lists the following witnesses: D it<sup>a b c d ff<sup>2</sup> 1 r<sup>1</sup></sup> Diogetus, Gospel of the Ebionites, Justin (Clement), Origen, Didascalia, Methodius, Juvenius, (Ambrosiaster), Hilary, Apostolic Constitutions, Faustinus, (Tyconius) and Augustine. Bezae dates from the sixth century and the Old Latin witnesses from the fourth to the thirteenth century (a = IV, b = V, c = XII/XIII, d = V, ff<sup>2</sup> = V, 1 = IV/V, r<sup>1</sup> = VII).<sup>301</sup> Thus any claim to a very early attestation rests mainly on the Fathers. In light of the caution given by the U.B.S. text that their evidence has been taken from printed editions of the Greek New Testament and has not been checked,<sup>302</sup> it will be in order here to check each reference.



The late second century<sup>303</sup> Epistle to Diognetus 11:5 (Loeb, XXV, II, 374) may contain an allusion to Ps. 2:7 in the words οὗτος ὁ αἰεὶ, ὁ σήμερον υἱὸς λογισθεῖς ("He is the eternal one, who today is accounted a Son"<sup>304</sup>), but it does not refer to the baptism of Jesus.<sup>305</sup>

In fragment 4 of the second century Gospel of the Ebionites, which is preserved by Epiphanius in his Haer. 30, 17, 7f (Aland, Synopsis, p. 27; Hennecke, I, 156, 157), it is recorded that, "When the people were baptized, Jesus also came and was baptized by John. And as he came up from the water, the heavens were opened and he saw the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove that descended and entered into him. And a voice (sounded) from heaven and said: Thou art my beloved Son, in thee I am well pleased (σὺ μου εἶ ὁ υἱὸς ὁ ἀγαπητός, ἐν σοὶ ἡὐδόκησα). And again: I have this day begotten thee (ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε). And immediately a great light shone round about the place. When John saw this, it saith, he saith unto him: Who art thou, Lord? And again a voice from heaven (rang out) to him: This is my beloved Son in whom I am well pleased, (οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός, ἐφ' ὃν ἡὐδόκησα). And then, it saith, John fell down before him and said: I beseech thee, Lord, baptize thou me. But he prevented him and said: Suffer it; for thus it is fitting that everything should be fulfilled." The whole account is obviously an attempt at some sort of synopsis of the baptism narrative as found in Matthew,<sup>306</sup> and Luke<sup>307</sup> plus the interjection of foreign materials.<sup>308</sup> Apart from the content of the first baptism voice, which is the matter under discussion, there is no clear evidence that G.E. used Mark's gospel as a source.<sup>309</sup> In light of the lack of dependence on Mark and the utilization of Lk. 3:22 by G.E., it would appear that

σὺ μου εἶ ὁ υἱὸς ὁ ἀγαπητός, ἐν τοῖς  
 ἡυδόκησα, the first baptism voice, should be traced back to  
 Lk. 3:22, not Mk. 1:11. Furthermore, it must be noted that ἐγὼ  
 σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε (Ps. 2:7b) is not the same  
 as the "Western" reading of Lk. 3:22, i.e. Ps. 2:7a and b. How is  
 ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε to be explained?  
 Apparently the G.E. has added Ps. 2:7b to the voice from heaven as  
 some sort of explanation or development. Thus Ps. 2:7b should be  
 considered as "foreign material". If this analysis of the sources  
 of the content of the voices from heaven is correct, it evinces 1)  
 that G.E. is not a witness for the "Western" reading of Lk. 3:22 and  
 2) how, at least in G.E., Ps. 2:7 came to be associated with Lk.  
 3:22.

Justin Martyr (d. 165) cites Ps. 2:7 in four texts (Dialogue  
 88, 103, 122 and Apology I, 40) of which the first two<sup>310</sup> are given  
 as the content of the voice at the baptism. Justin is clearly aware  
 of the fact that when he cited the voice at the baptism as "You are  
 my son, today I have begotten you" he is dealing with a citation  
 from the O.T.<sup>311</sup> In the context of Dial 88 and 103 there is no  
 univocal evidence pointing to dependence upon Luke's account of the  
 baptism.<sup>312</sup> Indeed, many scholars hold that Justin generally used  
 a gospel harmony as his source.<sup>313</sup> One might think that the  
 ἐν εἶδει περιστερᾶς (Dial. 88,8) in the introduction to  
 the baptism voice ("but then the Holy Ghost, and for man's sake, as  
 I formerly stated, lighted on Him in the form of a dove, and there  
 came at the same instant from the heavens a voice", A.N.F. I, 244)  
 should be traced back to the εἶδει ὡς περιστερὰν  
 of Lk. 3:22, but an exact parallel is to be found in the G.E. (ἐν  
 εἶδει περιστερᾶς).<sup>314</sup> Furthermore, in Dial 88,3

Justin's curious statement that "when Jesus had gone to the river Jordan, where John was baptizing, and when He had stepped into the water, a fire was kindled in the Jordan (καὶ πῦρ ἀνήφθη ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ)" may also point back to the φῶς μέγα of the G.E.<sup>315</sup> Thus there is some evidence to support the idea that Justin in addition to a gospel harmony used the G.E. or the same tradition from another source.<sup>316</sup> If this is correct, it follows that he also took over Ps. 2:7b from his source, expanded it<sup>317</sup> — he recognized it as coming from Ps. 2:7, and made it the content of the voice from heaven. Even if this explanation of the source of Justin's voice at the baptism is not correct, it must be noted that Justin does not provide clear proof that Ps. 2:7 was read in Luke's account of the baptism voice.

Clement of Alexandria (d. 215) in his Paedagogus I, 6, 25 (G.C.S. I, 105) states that at the baptism τῷ κυρίῳ ἀπ' οὐρανῶν ἐπήχησε φωνὴ μάρτυς ἡγαπημένου υἱός μου εἰ συ ἀγαπητός, ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε. This is obviously a combination of Ps. 2:7 with ἀγαπητός of Mt. 3:17, Mk. 1:11 or Lk. 3:22 (non-"Western" text). The introduction and context of the text is not derived from any of the synoptic gospels. In light of this and the addition of ἀγαπητός one cannot state that this is a clear witness for the "Western" reading of Lk. 3:22. One can only say that it is a witness to the association of Ps. 2:7 with the baptism of Jesus.

Tertullian (d. 225), who is not cited by the U.B.S. apparatus, should be included at this point because in Adv. Marcionem IV, 22, 8 (O.E.C.T. I, 381) in the midst of a discussion of the transfiguration he alludes to the "accustomed voice from heaven" ("vox solita de caelo") which gives the "Father's new testimony concerning the Son",

i.e. Ps. 2:7. The only hint that Tertullian might be using Lk. 3:22 is the singular "caelo" (cf. Lk. 3:22 οὐρανοῦ, Mk. 1:11 and Mt. 3:17 οὐρανῶν), but this is hardly sufficient to prove that Ps. 2:7 has been taken from Lk. 3:22.

Origen (d. 254) is cited by the U.B.S. apparatus as an attestation of the "Western" reading of Lk. 3:22, but in none of the six citations of Ps. 2:7 is the baptism of Jesus mentioned.<sup>318</sup>

The Didascalia IX, 2, 32 (3rd century) is found only in Syriac. Section 29ff deals with the importance of the bishop and begins with the question, "Do you therefore esteem the bishop as the mouth of God?" The end of section 32 exalts the bishop by pointing out that it was the bishop "through whom the Lord gave you the Holy Spirit, and through whom you have learned the word and have known God, and through whom you have been known of God, and through whom you were sealed, and through whom you became sons of the light, and through whom the Lord in baptism, by the imposition of hand of the bishop, bore witness to each one of you and uttered His holy voice, saying: 'Thou art my son: I this day have begotten thee'."<sup>319</sup> This text relates directly to the Christian's baptism although Christ's baptism no doubt lies behind this application. Again, there is nothing in the context that points to Luke's account of the baptism.

Methodius (d. 311) in Symposium VIII, 9 (G.C.S. p. 91; A.N.F. VI, 338) briefly mentions the baptism of Christ because it was "in perfect agreement and correspondence with what" he had said about the baptism of Christians (VIII, 8). He introduces the baptism voice by saying that it "was spoken by the Father from above to Christ when He came to be baptized in the water of the Jordan." Then follows Ps. 2:7 which is interpreted as an unconditional declaration of the sonship of Christ — "Thou art" not "thou hast

become". Ps. 2:7 is clearly connected with the baptism of Jesus, but again there is no evidence from the context that Methodius has taken this from Lk. 3:22.

Lactantius (d. 320) in the Divinae Institutiones IV, 15 (C.S.E.L. XIX, 329) states that at the baptism of Jesus a voice from heaven was heard saying, "Filius meus es tu, ego hodie genui te." The context speaks of the descent upon Jesus of the "spiritus dei" (cf.  $\piνεῦμα \Thetaεοῦ$  Mt. 3:16) which was formed after the appearance of a white dove ("formatus in specie columbae candidae"). Probably "species" goes back to  $εἶδος$  of Lk. 3:22. Thus Lactantius is the first fairly clear attestation of the "Western" text of Lk. 3:22.

Ambrosiaster (4th century) is listed in the U.B.S. apparatus as a Father who supports the reading of Ps. 2:7 in Lk. 3:22 but deviates from it in minor details. In Quaestiones Veteris et Novi Testamenti LIV (C.S.E.L. I, 99) Ps. 2:7, "Tu es filius meus, ego hodie genui te", is quoted in connection with the baptism; but there is no contextual evidence pointing to Lk. 3:22.

Juvencus (d. 330) is listed by the U.B.S. apparatus as a clear witness to Ps. 2:7 at the baptism, but the voice reported in Evangeliorum Libri I, 364 (C.S.E.L. XXIV, 21), "Te nate, hodie per gaudia testor ex me progenitum, placet haec mihi gloria prolis", has only "hodie" in common with Ps. 2:7.

Hilary of Poitiers (d. 367) in De Trinitate VIII, 25; XI, 18 (P.L. X, 254, 412), Tractatus in Psalmum II, 29 (C.S.E.L. XXII, 59) and Commentarius in Matthaeum, II, 6 (P.L. IX, 927) connects Ps. 2:7 with the voice at the baptism. On the one hand, in De Trinitate XI, 8 ("tum cum adscendente eo de Jordane vox<sup>x</sup> Dei patris audita est") and Tractatus ("scriptum est autem, cum ascendisset ex aqua") there is evidence of dependence on Mt. 3:16 ( $\alpha\nu\acute{\epsilon}\beta\eta \alpha\pi\omicron \tau\omicron\upsilon$

ὕδατος, cf. ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰορδάνην Mt. 3:13) or Mk. 1:10 ( ἀναβαίνων ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος ), but not Luke who has προσευχομένου at this point. On the other hand, in Commentarius in Matthaeum the words "et specie columbae visibilis" point to Lk. 3:22. Thus Hilary may have gotten Ps. 2:7 from Lk. 3:22, but the use of Matthew or Mark in two of the other texts puts a question mark over the exact source of Ps. 2:7.<sup>320</sup>

At this point one text from Athanasius (d. 373), which is not mentioned by the U.B.S. apparatus, should be introduced for the sake of completeness. In his Oratio IV Contra Arianos II, 16, 7 (P.G. XXVI, 196) he states that the Father shows Christ to be "his own proper and only Son", saying, υἱός μου εἶ συ· καὶ οὕτως ἐστὶν ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός, ἐν τῷ ἡὺδόκησα. This is a combination of Ps. 2:7 and the voice at the baptism or transfiguration according to Matthew, but the context does not specify that one or both of these were spoken at the baptism. Thus it could be a simple combination of proof-texts drawn from various sources. Immediately after these citations Athanasius speaks of the fact that angels minister to Christ and worship him. This probably indicates that Heb. 1:5 is the source of the Ps. 2:7a quotation.<sup>321</sup>

Apostolic Constitutions (380) II, 5,32 is dependent upon the Didascalia (see above). Immediately after the voice it adds διὰ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου σου ὁ θεὸς υἱοποιεῖται σε ἄνθρωπε.<sup>322</sup>

Tyconius (d. 400) in Liber Regularum, rule one (P.L. XVIII, 19) states explicitly that "ille cui secundum Lucan dicit in baptismo: Filius meus es tu, ego hodie generaui te." This is the first Father to clearly connect Ps. 2:7 to Lk. 3:22.



The witness of Faustinus (d. 380) is preserved in Augustine's Contra Faustum XXIII, 2 (C.S.E.L. XXV, 708; N.P.N.F. 1st series, IV, 313). Faustinus explains "that when Jesus was about thirty years old, according to Luke, a voice was heard saying to him, "Filius meus es tu; ego hodie genui te." The "secundum Lucae" is not attached to Ps. 2:7 but to the thirty years ("factum aliquando esse filium dei post annos dumtaxat secundum Lucae fidem ferme triginta, ubi et uox tunc audita est dicens ad eum"). Eight lines later Faustinus states that the words "'You are my son, today I have begotten you' or 'This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased'" do not occur in connection with the birth. Again this is a case of Ps. 2:7 being attached to the baptism but not explicitly to Lk. 3:22.

Although Ambrose (d. 397) is not cited in the U.B.S. apparatus, he is introduced for sake of completeness. In Expositio Evangelii secundum Lucam II, 83 (C.C.L. XIV, 67), he gives the following as the text of Lk. 3:22: "Filius meus es tu, in te conplacui."<sup>323</sup> In this baptism voice "beloved" has been dropped, and the placement of "filius meus" at the beginning is probably due to the influence of Ps. 2:7. The "in te conplacui" agrees with the  $\epsilon\nu\ \sigma\omicron\iota\ \epsilon\upsilon\delta\acute{o}\kappa\eta\sigma\alpha$  of Mk. 1:11 and of the majority of the MSS for Lk. 3:22. Thus Ambrose or his source conflated either a Ps. 2:7 reading taken from Lk. 3:22 with Mk. 1:11 or Ps. 2:7 apart from Lk. 3:22 with the text of Lk. 3:22 as attested by the majority of MSS. Since Ambrose conflated Ps. 2:7a with "in te conplacui" and since he or his source may have interpolated Ps. 2:7 into Lk. 3:22, he cannot be counted as a clear witness to the "Western" text of Lk. 3:22.

Augustine (d. 430) is cited by U.B.S. apparatus as a witness of the "Western" reading at Lk. 3:22. In Enchiridion ad Laurentium

XLIX (P.L. XL, 255), which was written c. 423 A.D., he states that after the baptism of Jesus the Father announced that "this day I have begotten you" (Ps. 2:7b). But earlier (c. 400 A.D.) in De Consensu Evangelistarum II, 14, 31 (C.S.E.L. XLIII, 131, 132) he states that the text of Lk. 3:22 reads, "You are my beloved Son, in you it has pleased me (in te complacuit mihi)." In connection with this reading he acknowledges that some codices of Luke have the words that are written in Ps. 2:7 but "in antiquioribus codicibus Graecis non inueniri perhibeatur." Thus it would seem that when Augustine wished to be exact he knew that the attestation for reading Ps. 2:7 in Lk. 3:22 was weak, yet he was willing to employ it (Ps. 2:7b) in a general discussion. In effect Augustine is a witness against the "Western" reading of Lk. 3:22.

Of the fifteen — Tertullian makes it sixteen — Fathers cited by the U.B.S. apparatus the following conclusions can be drawn: one Father must be dropped because he does not connect Ps. 2:7 to the baptism (Origen), two more can be eliminated because they do not read Ps. 2:7 at the baptism (Juvenius and Augustine), the Epistle to Diognetus has neither the full text of Ps. 2:7 nor a baptism setting. This leaves twelve Fathers ten<sup>324</sup> of whom do not explicitly connect Ps. 2:7 to Lk. 3:22. Of these ten it has been argued that G.E. has added Ps. 2:7b to the baptism from non-synoptic materials and that Justin may be dependent upon the G.E. or a similar tradition. Should the remaining eight Fathers (Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Didascalia, Methodius, Ambrosiaster Apostolic Constitutions, Hilary and Faustinus), who read Ps. 2:7 at the baptism, but show no evidence of having taken it from Lk. 3:22, be counted as valid witnesses of the "Western" reading of Lk. 3:22? Is it not possible that these have all been influenced by a primitive, non-canonical tradition such

as the one contained in G.E.? Should the reading of Ps. 2:7 in the Fathers be connected with Lk. 3:22 because later MSS (Old Latins, D) and later Fathers (Lactantius?, Hilary?, Tyconius) do this? Probably not. Of the two remaining Fathers, Lactantius gives some evidence that Ps. 2:7 was derived from Lk. 3:22. Tyconius (d. 400) is the only Father who explicitly cites Ps. 2:7 in connection with Lk. 3:22. Hence, the Fathers do not provide clear attestation of an early "Western" reading of Lk. 3:22.

This leaves the Old Latin MSS and D to be discussed. Of the former, only one is from the fourth century, and the important e (plus aur, q) reads the text accepted by U.B.S. Concerning D, it is well known that Bezae has a tendency to expand biblical quotations (Acts 13:33 adds Ps. 2:8) and to conform quotations and allusions to the M.T. (Mt. 27:46, Ps. 22:2)<sup>325</sup> and LXX (Acts 4:5, Ps. 2:2, see ch. III).<sup>326</sup>

Two arguments are commonly offered in defense of the external attestation of the "Western" text.<sup>327</sup> First, the elimination of Ps. 2:7 from Lk. 3:22 in the vast majority of MSS is due to the desire of orthodox scribes to avoid adoptionism.<sup>328</sup> But 1) Lentzen-Deis argues that in the Jewish-Christian milieu of the very earliest period, e.g. G.E. and Justin, it is unlikely that Ps. 2:7 would have been regarded as a proof of adoptionism.<sup>329</sup> 2) Later, some Father, such as Athanasius,<sup>330</sup> actually used Ps. 2:7 as a proof-text against a tendency to down-grade the "eternal generation" of the Son. 3) Barrett observes that, "Both forms [Mk. 1:11 and Lk. 3:22 D] of the saying are susceptible of an Adoptionist interpretation."<sup>331</sup> Secondly, if the "Western text altered Lk. 3:22, why did it not also alter Mk. 1:11 and Mt. 3:17? This argument loses much of its force when it is recalled that the Fathers with the

exception of Tyconius do not specifically attach Ps. 2:7 to Lk. 3:22.<sup>332</sup>

Hence, the external authority for the so-called "Western" reading of Lk. 3:22 in comparison with that for the text printed by the U.B.S. (P<sup>4</sup> [3rd century], X A B K L W  $\Theta$   $\Psi$  0124 f<sup>1</sup> f<sup>13</sup> 28 33 565 (700 omit  $\delta$  υἱός μου ) 892 1009 1010 1071 1079 1195 1216 1230 1241 1242 1344 1365 1546 1646 2148 Byz Lecl 1<sup>69s</sup>, m, 70s, m, 185s, m, 1127s, m it aur, e, q vg syr<sup>h</sup> cop<sup>sa</sup>, bo<sup>mss</sup> arm geo) must be judged inferior.

## 2. Internal Evidence

First, there is no apparent reason why Luke, who employs Mark as a source, should alter Mark at this point. The D reading not only arranges  $\sigma\upsilon \epsilon\tilde{\iota} \delta \upsilon\iota\acute{o}s \mu\omicron\upsilon$  differently but also drops  $\delta \acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\pi\eta\tau\acute{o}s, \acute{\epsilon}\nu \sigma\omicron\iota \epsilon\upsilon\delta\acute{o}\kappa\eta\sigma\alpha$ . Whatever may be the source of  $\delta \acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\pi\eta\tau\acute{o}s$  (see below) there is general agreement that  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu \sigma\omicron\iota \epsilon\upsilon\delta\acute{o}\kappa\eta\sigma\alpha$  comes from Is. 42:1.<sup>333</sup> This is confirmed in the synoptic gospels by the bestowal of the Spirit (cf. Is. 42:1 LXX  $\acute{\epsilon}\delta\omega\kappa\alpha \tau\omicron \pi\nu\epsilon\upsilon\mu\acute{\alpha} \mu\omicron\upsilon \acute{\epsilon}\pi' \alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{o}\nu$ ).<sup>334</sup> If Luke had eliminated the servant concept from the son-servant combination of Mk. 1:11, it is likely that he would also have eliminated the bestowal of the Spirit taken from the servant concept.<sup>335</sup> Secondly, since Luke in contrast to Mark and Matthew emphasizes the anointing of the servant by the Spirit<sup>336</sup> (Lk. 4:16ff, Is. 61:1,2), it is unlikely that Luke would have removed the servant concept from the baptismal voice. Thirdly, if Luke introduced Ps. 2:7 into the baptism voice, why did he not likewise introduce it into the transfiguration voice (Lk. 9:35)?

When the external and internal evidence is combined, the so-called "Western" reading must be judged as a later alteration of



durch eine auffällige Formulierung und auffallende syntaktische Stellung im neuen Zusammenhang auf eine Übernahme aus der Schrift schliessen lassen."<sup>340</sup> Gundry, who is especially concerned with the textual traditions reflected in Matthew's allusions, admits that "deciding whether an instance of verbal parallelism between O.T. and N.T. really constitutes an allusive quotation often presents a delicate task." He rejects the following criteria: requiring a certain number of words, using bold face type in Greek New Testaments and relying upon commentaries and other works on the subject. Rather he speaks of clues such as "certain fixity of expression." He concludes that, "In general, the procedure here followed has been not to require a certain number of words, but to require that recognizable thought-connection exist between the O.T. and N.T. passages."<sup>341</sup> In this work a phrase is reckoned as an allusion to Ps. 2 if there is something distinctive in the wording that points to Ps. 2.<sup>342</sup> This general guide line has been somewhat relaxed when Ps. 2 has been explicitly quoted in the nearby context.

### 3. Arguments For and Against an Allusion to Ps. 2:7

The arguments in favor of taking  $\sigma\upsilon \epsilon\tilde{\iota} \upsilon\acute{\iota}\acute{o}\varsigma \mu\omicron\upsilon$  as an allusion to Ps. 2:7 have been fully set forth by Lövestam who asserts that, "The expression 'my Son'...has traditionally been considered to allude to Ps. 2:7."<sup>343</sup> True; but is "my Son" a distinctive phrase which enables one to trace it back to Ps. 2? "My Son" is found in two other important O.T. passages, i.e. Ex. 4:22 ( $\text{יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ, υἱὸς πρωτότοκός μου}$ ) and Hosea 11:1 ( $\text{יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ, Aq. and Theod. υἱόν μου, Sym. υἱός μου, cf. Mt. 2:15 τὸν υἱόν μου}$ ). Thus "my Son" does not point only to Ps. 2:7: contextual considerations must be introduced and evaluated. Such



considerations have been offered by Lövestam and others. 1)

ἀγαπητός is traced back to אֲבִיךָ of the Targum to Ps. 2:7

(אֲבִיךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֶיךָ כִּבְרָתְךָ , Beloved, as a son to his

father you are to me).<sup>344</sup> But the late date for the Targum to the

Psalms and the "change of wording in the Targum with its removal

of the direct statement of sonship found in the M.T."<sup>345</sup> speak

against the Targum as a source for ἀγαπητός. 2) The direct

address in Mark and Luke (not Matthew) is compared to the divine

proclamation in Ps. 2:7,<sup>346</sup> but in Ps. 2:7 the words "you are my

son" are recorded as indirect address. 3) There is a combination

of Ps. 2:7 and Is. 42:1 in Midr. Ps. 2 & 9.<sup>347</sup> Midrash Tehillim,

however, is assigned to the last century of the period of the

Geonim;<sup>348</sup> and there is no internal evidence that an early tradition

has been preserved at this point.<sup>349</sup> 4) The "Parable of the

Rejected Son" calls τὸν υἱόν μου τὸν ἀγαπητόν

(Lk. 20:13; cf. Mk. 12:6) ὁ κληρονόμος. Lövestam

believes that τὸν υἱόν μου τὸν ἀγαπητόν

is connected with the voice at the baptism and that "in all

probability there exists here an allusion to Ps. 2:7f."<sup>350</sup> Although

it is true that the combination of son and heir in Heb. 1:2 is

derived from Ps. 2:7 — as the context makes clear,<sup>351</sup> one cannot

without further ado credit every son-heir/inheritance combination to

Ps. 2:7,8. Indeed, Paul's use of this combination is derived from

Genesis.<sup>352</sup> Furthermore, the allusion to Is. 5 in this parable

makes it clear that the scope of the inheritance is Israel — not

the "ends of the earth" of Ps. 2:8. In Ps. 2:7,8 the son as heir<sup>353</sup>

is victorious, but here the son is murdered. More important than

these factors in determining the background of this son-heir

combination is Mark's clear statement that ἔτι ἓνα εἶχεν

υἷόν ἀγαπητόν (12:6). Here ἀγαπητός clearly means "only". This points to Gen. 22:2 where Isaac is the only son and heir (Gen. 15:4).

Three minor objections to an allusion to Ps. 2:7 in the baptism voice should be noted. First, Cranfield remarks that, "If Mark himself had thought that the first part of the bat-kôl was an echo of Ps. 2:7, we should on the whole have expected him to have reproduced the LXX order υἱός μου εἶ συ as is done elsewhere in the N.T. when Ps. 2:7 is quoted."<sup>354</sup> Secondly there is no definite article before υἱός in Ps. 2:7, but there is in the baptism voice. Thirdly, it is usually asserted that σὺ εἶ<sup>355</sup> is part of the allusion to Ps. 2:7. Thus it is strange that this part of the allusion has been obscured by its replacement with οὗτός ἐστιν in Mk. 9:7, Mt. 3:17, 17:5 and Lk. 9:5.<sup>356</sup>

Thus the case for an allusion to Ps. 2:7 is not conclusive. Since it cannot be demonstrated that Ps. 2:7 lies behind Mk. 1:11, what other O.T. passage(s) can be suggested? If another O.T. text better accounts for ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός, this would be further evidence that an allusion to Ps. 2:7 is not to be posited.

#### 4. Other Old Testament Texts

Since ὁ υἱός μου is not a distinctive term, it may be more productive to focus upon the rather distinctive ὁ ἀγαπητός. If ὁ ἀγαπητός can be traced back to a particular O.T. text and if this text also supplies ὁ υἱός, it will be possible with some certainty to postulate the O.T. background of ὁ υἱός μου.

. At least four O.T. texts have been put forward to account for ἀγαπητός. 1) As noted above some derive ἀγαπητός from 1717 of the Targum to Ps. 2:7, but this is to be rejected (see above). 2) Recently, Bretscher<sup>357</sup> has attempted to prove that

Ex. 4:22 (בְּרִיךְ יִשְׂרָאֵל) lies behind the voice at the baptism and transfiguration.<sup>358</sup> He claims that the literal translation of the M.T. into Greek (ὁ υἱός μου ὁ πρωτότοκός μου Ἰσραήλ) resembles the text found in B and P<sup>72</sup> of II Peter 1:17 (ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός μου οὗτός ἐστιν). Bretscher realizes that the question of why the voice from heaven contains ἀγαπητός instead of πρωτότοκος must be answered and that ἀγαπητός in the baptism voice has the meaning of "only". His evidence showing that πρωτότοκος was used in pre-Christian Judaism in the sense of "only" is very weak.<sup>359</sup> 3) ἀγαπητός may have come from the version of Is. 42:1 found in Mt. 12:18 (ὁ ἀγαπητός μου; LXX and Theod. ὁ ἐκλεκτός μου; M.T. and Targum יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ), but it is possible that ἀγαπητός was taken over from Matthew's baptism voice.<sup>360</sup> At any rate, it is certain that Mt. 12:18 did not directly influence Mk. 1:11. Therefore, one must posit a common source for Mk. 1:11 and Mt. 12:18. Such a source is unattested. 4) A proposal, which has received increasing support in recent years,<sup>361</sup> is that ἀγαπητός goes back to Gen. 22:2,12,16. Before stating the case for Gen. 22:2,12,16, it must be noted that ὁ ἀγαπητός in Mk. 1:11 is not to be translated as a separate title, the Beloved,<sup>362</sup> but as an adjective<sup>363</sup> and that its meaning in this context is "only" not "beloved".<sup>364</sup> Thus it should be rendered "my only Son".

The verbal correspondence between ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός (Mk. 1:11, Lk. 3:22) and τὸν υἱόν σου τὸν ἀγαπητὸν (Gen. 22:2,12,16: יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ לֹא יָדָע לֵאמֹר) is especially impressive because in both ἀγαπητός means "only". The change from σου to μου so that the O.T. allusion will agree with the N.T. context is an instance of a well-known

midrashic technique.<sup>365</sup> Does an allusion to Gen. 22 dovetail with the context of the baptism account?

First, the context of Gen. 22:2,12,16 in contrast to that of Ex. 4:22 and Ps. 2:7 specifically mentions a voice (vs. 18) that called from heaven (vss. 11,15). Thus "your son, your only son" is part of the content of a voice from heaven, but it is addressed to Abraham, not Isaac. In Targum Neofiti I on Gen. 22:10 the voice is not directed to Abraham or Isaac but apparently to the angels.<sup>366</sup> If this tradition is pre-Christian,<sup>367</sup> it indicates that by the time of the N.T. the voice from heaven of Gen. 22 was no longer exclusively associated with an address to Abraham. This opens up the way for a shift in the addressee to Jesus, the new Isaac. Secondly, Vermes has adduced evidence from Jewish sources to show that in the first century A.D. and probably in the middle of the second century B.C. Gen. 22, the Akedah of Isaac, was associated with the servant of Is. 53.<sup>368</sup> Thus the linking of Gen. 22 to the servant of Isaiah (42) in the baptism account is appropriate.<sup>369</sup> Thirdly, in the baptism Jesus is depicted as willingly identifying himself with the sins of Israel (cf. Mk. 1:4). Thus the concept of an "only Son" who like Isaac willingly offered himself as a sacrifice is most fitting in this context.<sup>370</sup> Elsewhere in the N.T.<sup>371</sup> and early Christian literature<sup>372</sup> Jesus is viewed as the new Isaac, and in the Test. of Levi 18<sup>373</sup> Gen. 22 is specifically related to the baptism of Jesus: "The heavens shall be opened and from the temple of glory shall come upon him sanctification with the Father's voice as from Abraham to Isaac.<sup>374</sup> And the glory of the Most High shall be uttered over him, and the spirit of understanding and sanctification shall rest upon him in the water."<sup>375</sup>

Of the four suggestions (Ps. 2:7, Ex. 4:22, Is. 42:1, Gen. 22:2,

12,16) which have been examined as possible sources for the distinctive ἀγαπητός, Gen. 22 is the most plausible. Since Gen. 22 best accounts for the ἀγαπητός, the υἱός should probably be credited to Gen. 22. Ps. 2:7, Ex. 4:22 and Hosea 11:1 may have exerted some influence upon the content of the voice from heaven, but their influence has left no distinctive mark upon the tradition preserved in the baptism voice.<sup>376</sup>

#### E. Summary

The three questions discussed in this section — Was there an original παῖς μου in the baptism voice? Is the D text of Lk. 3:22 the correct reading? Is there an allusion to Ps. 2:7 in the baptism voice? — have all been answered in the negative. Even those who answer the first question in the affirmative admit that the later shift to υἱός μου may have been helped by Ps. 2:7. Since the early Fathers do not clearly link the Ps. 2:7 baptism voice to Lk. 3:22, a negative reply was given to the second question. Such a reply, however, does not exclude the possibility of an allusion to Ps. 2:7 in Lk. 3:22. In determining whether there is an allusion to Ps. 2:7 in Mk. 1:11 (and parallels) the basic requirement is something distinctive in the wording that points to Ps. 2:7. Since υἱός μου could refer to other O.T. texts beside Ps. 2:7 and since contextual and tradition-historical considerations do not confirm an allusion to Ps. 2:7, the alleged allusion to Ps. 2:7 cannot be established. Furthermore, there is some evidence to show that Gen. 22 best accounts for ἀγαπητός. Thus it is likely that υἱός was also taken over from the same source. Contextual and tradition-historical considerations tend to confirm this. Hence it may be concluded that although Ps. 2:7 may have exerted an influence upon the formation of the baptism voice, it has left no distinctive mark by which its influence can be established.

## V. Conclusions

Since each section of this chapter has already been summarized, the conclusion concentrates on drawing together the various results. On the negative side, there is insufficient evidence 1) to indicate the presence of an allusion to Ps. 2:7 in either the baptism (and transfiguration) voice or the pre-Pauline confession enshrined in Rom. 1:3,4 (in both cases it is possible that Ps. 2:7 exerted some influence upon an earlier formative stage, but the traces of such an influence can no longer be detected with certainty) or 2) to demonstrate that Ps. 2:7 was associated with the resurrection in Acts 13:33 and the exaltation in Heb. 1:5, 5:5. Thus in the N.T. Ps. 2:7 was not associated with any specific event in the life of Jesus.<sup>377</sup>

The positive conclusions lie in the areas of contribution, function and hermeneutical stance. 1) All three quotations of Ps. 2:7 are found in "homilies" which are directed to Jews or to those who have a Jewish background. 2) In Acts 13:33, Ps. 2:7 speaks of the raising up of the Son (of God), the Messiah, who fulfills the promise made to David (II Sam. 7:12ff). 3) In Heb. 1:5 there are messianic overtones attached to Son (1:1), but the emphasis falls upon Son — a title that points to Jesus' deity. Thus he is greater than the angels who are the highest representatives of the old covenant. 4) Comparing the contribution of Ps. 2:7 to Acts 13 with the contribution of Ps. 2:7 to Heb. 1:5, it is evident that there is a shift from functional christology to ontological christology. 5) In Acts 13 sonship is linked to permanence (Is. 55:3; Ps. 16:10): in Hebrews sonship is linked to dominion (1:2) and priesthood (Ps. 110:4). In both Acts 13 and Heb. 1, Ps. 2:7 is linked to II Sam. 7:14. 6) Ps. 2:7 in Heb. 5:5 goes a step further than Ps. 2:7



in Heb. 1:5 in that it attests the Son's eternality which is a necessary prerequisite for his appointment as a priest for ever. 7) In Hebrews Ps. 2:7 is the cornerstone in the christological foundation which in turn supports the whole of the argument of Hebrews, i.e. Christianity is superior to Judaism. 8) In the early Church Fathers Ps. 2:7 attested Jesus' sonship<sup>378</sup> and from an early period was often linked to his baptism.<sup>379</sup>

9) In Acts 13, Ps. 2:7 functions as a midrashic restatement of part of the Davidic promise/haftarah. It also serves as an enthronement proclamation: as David was raised up to be king so Jesus has now been raised up to be Messiah. 10) In Hebrews Ps. 2:7 functions as a Schriftbeweis that attests the sonship (1:5) and eternal sonship (5:5) of Jesus. 11) In Heb. 1:5, Ps. 2:7 is part of a catena of seven O.T. texts that witness to Christ's sonship (1:5), superiority to angels (1:6-12) and exaltation (1:13). This catena was first assembled by the author of Hebrews who might have drawn upon existing Jewish or Christian traditions of exegesis for his use of Ps. 2:7-II Sam. 7:14.

12) The promise-fulfillment schema of Acts 13:32 shows that Ps. 2:7 should be classified as a peshet stance, but in Heb. 1:5, 5:5 this peshet stance is the prerequisite for the literal stance.

## Footnotes to Ch. IV

1. E. Haenchen, The Acts of the Apostles, trans. R. McL. Wilson et al. (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1971), p. 415. Haenchen's proofs that this sermon is Lukan can be divided into two categories: matters of style and matters of content. As to matters of style such as the Hellenistic expressions τεσσαρακονταετη χρόνον of vs. 18 (p. 408) and τί for the relative pronoun in vs. 25 (p. 409) and the Lukanisms such as the use of ἄνδρες, ἀδελφοί in vss. 26 and 38 (pp. 159, 409) and ὁ λόγος τῆς σωτηρίας of 10:36; 13:26, it must be remembered (see esp. ch. III) that Lukan style does not prove Lukan composition. (On the Lukan phrase "forgiveness of sins" see I.H. Marshall, Luke: Historian and Theologian (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan, 1971), p. 197). As to the matter of the setting and content of the speech three points require discussions. First, Haenchen (p. 408) alleges that the ἀναστὰς and κατασεΐσας τῇ χειρὶ of vs. 16 are due to Luke's desire to present Paul as a Hellenistic orator in contrast to the Jewish practice of sitting (Luke 4:20). But there is no reason why a Paul with a Hellenistic background, as well as a Jewish background, could not have done this. Indeed, Haenchen himself cites Philo De spec. leg II, 62 (Loeb VII, 346) where a synagogue speaker "rises (ἀναστὰς) and sets forth what is the best and sure...." Secondly, Haenchen (p. 408) asserts that the recounting of the history of salvation in Acts 13 as in Acts 7 "must have been a favourite method with such sermons in Luke's time." But this overlooks the fact that apart from Acts we have no record of apostolic sermons, and there is evidence for seeing in Stephen's speech the preservation of very early traditions (see ch. III). Thirdly, Haenchen (p. 410) cites the ignorance of the rulers and the will of God in connection with Christ's death in Acts 3:17f and 13:27f as evidence of Lukan composition and not evidence of "the theological unity of the preaching of the real Peter and the real Paul." But in ch. III it was argued that in part Acts 3 does have some contacts with Petrine tradition. Hence, unless one accepts beforehand that the speeches are mainly Lukan compositions, there are no compelling reasons in these passages to see Lukan theology. If Acts has any historical validity, one may be allowed to hold that Peter and Paul had met and discussed the essentials of their new faith. This discussion would have included the death of Christ (I Cor. 15:1ff), and they could easily have considered God's plan and the rulers' ignorance.
2. Haenchen, pp. 411, 412.
3. For example O. Glombitz in his analysis of the speech assigns vss. 17-23 and 33-37 to traditional materials (pp. 308, 315) and vss. 27-31 to Lukan composition (p. 310). "Akta XIII 15-41: Analyse einer lukanischen Predigt vor Juden." N.T.S. 5 (1958-59), 306-317. Glombitz's position is accepted by B. Lindars, New Testament Apologetic (London: S.C.M., 1961), p. 140ff. M. Wilcox states that in Acts 13 "Luke seems to be drawing on a source of some kind, at least for his Old Testament quotations and allusions." The Semitisms of Acts

## 3. (Contd.)

(Oxford: University Press, 1965) p. 181. J.W. Doeve concludes that "in the argument of Acts 13 the work of a schooled rabbi is quite perceptible" and "If the author of Acts composed the discourse in ch. 13 himself, then he must have had an excellent command of hermeneutics as practiced in rabbinic Judaism." Jewish Hermeneutics in the Synoptic Gospels and Acts (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1954), p. 175. J. Bowker has shown that the structure of the speech has several points of contact with a recognized pattern of Jewish homily designated as "proem". "Speeches in Acts: A Study in Proem and Yelammedenu Form", N.T.S. 14 (1967-68), 96-111. U. Wilckens designates the historical summary as an "uralte israelitisch-jüdische Tradition". Die Missionsreden der Apostelgeschichte (2nd ed., W.M.A.N.T. 5, Neukirchen - Vluyn, Neukirchener, 1963), p. 50. G. Delling, who is especially concerned with vss. 17-22, thinks that it is likely that this section comes from traditional material. "Israels Geschichte und Jesusgeschehen nach Acta" in Neues Testament und Geschichte: Historisches Geschehen und Deutung in Neuen Testament: Oscar Cullmann zum 70. Geburtstag, ed. H. Baltensweiler und Bo Reicke (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1972), p. 197.

4. Haenchen, pp. 411, 412; Wilcox, p. 181; Glombitz, p. 315; G. Lohfink, Die Himmelfahrt Jesus (St.A.N.T. 26, München, Kösel, 1971), p. 236; B.M.F. van Iersel, 'Der Sohn' in den Synoptischen Jesusworten (Supp. to Nov. T. 3, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1961), p. 70ff; E. Kränkl, Jesus der Knecht Gottes (B.U. 8, München, F.P. Regensburg, 1972), p. 143; R.H. Fuller argues that the use of Ps. 2:7 in Acts 13 "contradicts the Lucan Christology which dates Jesus' divine sonship from the birth. It is thus clearly pre-Lucan". Foundations of New Testament Christology (London: Collins, 1965), p. 180, n. 86. This argument is accepted by J.H. Hayes, "The Resurrection as Enthronement and the Earliest Church Christology", *Interp.* 22 (1968), 340. In regard to vss. 33-37, T. Holtz comes to the conclusion that, "Lukas sich in diesem ganzen Komplex traditionellen Gutes bedient" and that "wir es hier mit traditionellen Testimonienreihe zu tun haben, in der David-Texte in messianischer Interpretation zusammengestellt sind." Untersuchungen über die alttestamentlichen Zitate bei Lukas (T.U. 104, Berlin, Akademie, 1968), p. 140. Holtz goes on to argue that originally Ps. 2:7 did not stand in this series (p. 140, cf. p. 142). His support for this position is that Ps. 2:7 in Acts 13 refers to the resurrection whereas originally it did not have this reference. This, however, is not a valid objection. If one accepts that Ps. 2:7 in Acts refers to the resurrection, Christians prior to Luke might have seen this too. In this study it will be argued that Ps. 2:7 does not refer specifically to the resurrection in Acts 13. M. Rese argues that it cannot be established that the use of Ps. 2:7 comes from a pre-Lukan tradition. Alttestamentliche Motive in der Christologie des Lukas (St.N.T. 1, Gütersloh, Gütersloher Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn, 1969), p. 92. He bases his opinion upon the lack of evidence from Judaism and the N.T. for the messianic use of Ps. 2:7. But the possible messianic use of Ps. 2:7 in IQSa 2:11 plus the clear

## 4. (Contd.)

- messianic understanding of Ps. 2:9 in P.S. 17:26 at least should give one pause. Also it is unlikely that the christological significance of Ps. 2:7 would go unnoticed by the early community that saw christological significance in Ps. 2:1,2 in Acts 4 (see ch. III). On Hab. 1:5 in vs. 41 see J. de Waard, A Comparative Study of the Old Testament Text in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament (S.T.D.J. IV, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1965), pp. 17-19.
5. P. Vielhauer, "On the 'Paulinism' of Acts", S.L.A. pp. 33-50. It was first published as "Zum 'Paulinismus' der Apostelgeschichte", Ev.Th. 10 (1950-51), 1-15.
  6. B. Gärtner, The Areopagus Speech and Natural Revelation, trans. C.H. King (A.S.N.U. 21, Uppsala, 1955), p. 248ff. cf. N.B. Stonehouse, Paul before the Areopagus (Grand Rapids, Mich.; Eerdmans, 1957), pp. 1-40.
  7. R.N. Longenecker, Paul: Apostle of Liberty (New York: Harper and Row, 1964), see esp. pp. 245-263.
  8. W.G. Kümmel, Introduction to the New Testament, trans. A.J. Mattill, Jr. (New York: Abingdon, 1966), pp. 120-122. See also E.E. Ellis, "Die Funktion der Eschatologie im Lukasevangelium", Z.Th.K. 66 (1969), 387-402; A.L. Moore, The Parousia in the New Testament (Supp. to Nov. T. 13, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1966), pp. 146ff and 162ff.
  9. C.F.D. Moule, "The Influence of Circumstances on the Use of Christological Terms", J.Th.S. N.S. 10 (1959), 247-263.
  10. C.F.D. Moule, "The Influence of Circumstances on the Use of Eschatological Terms", J.Th.S. N.S. 15 (1964), 1-15.
  11. van Iersel, p. 68.
  12. See D.C. Duling, "The Promises to David and their Entrance into Christianity — Nailing Down a Likely Hypothesis", N.T.S. 19 (1973), 71ff.
  13. Haenchen, p. 411; cf. Glombitz, p. 312.
  14. W. Neil, The Acts of the Apostles (London: Oliphants, 1973), p. 159.
  15. Bowker, pp. 104, 105.
  16. Moule, S.L.A., p. 173.
  17. Haenchen, p. 412.
  18. Vielhauer, p. 41.
  19. Kränkl, p. 182.
  20. Vielhauer, p. 41; cf. Kränkl, p. 183.
  21. Marshall, Luke, p. 197, n. 1.

22. Taken over from Mk. 1:4.
23. Perhaps a provable Lukan redaction. cf. the longer ending of Mk. 16:15.
24. Vielhauer, p. 42.
25. F.F. Bruce, The Acts of the Apostles (London: Tyndale Press, 1952), p. 271.
26. Moule, S.L.A., p. 184, n. 46.
27. Haenchen, p. 412.
28. Vielhauer, pp. 41, 42; cf. Kränkl, p. 183.
29. Note that  $\text{ὁ υἱός}$  in Ps. 2:7 of Acts 13:33 is not an explicit title as  $\text{ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ}$  in Acts 9:20. Son of God in Acts 8:37 need not be considered here since it is not part of the original MS.
30. See E. Schweizer, " $\text{ὁ υἱός}$ ", T.D.N.T. VIII, 381.
31. See van Iersel, p. 70; Marshall, Luke, p. 167; cf. Schweizer, T.D.N.T., VIII, 380-382.
32. Moule, S.L.A., p. 174.
33. M. Black, "The Semitic Element in the New Testament", E.T. 77 (1965-66), 22; Wilcox after examining Acts 13:22 and other such "aberrant traditions" thinks that the origins of these should "be sought less in the use of an alternative Greek translation of the Old Testament (although such a possibility cannot be excluded altogether) or even in the 'immediate use' of Hebrew or Aramaic originals, than in the 'ipsissima verba' of the speakers whose words are recorded." p. 54; cf. Holtz, pp. 133-136.
34. J. Schniewind, " $\text{ἐπαγγελία}$ ", T.D.N.T., II, 579. Besides the Pauline corpus and the Pauline speeches in Acts, this idea is only found in Acts 7:17 and Hebrews.
35. See J.A. Fitzmyer, Essays on the Semitic Background of the New Testament (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1971), p. 9.
36. For a different view see Wilcox, p. 74 and Holtz, pp. 51, 52.
37. B.M. Metzger, A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament (London: United Bible Societies, 1971), p. 414.
38. It is being assumed here on the basis of the evidence pointing towards Lukan redaction in connection with the  $\psi α λ μ ό ς$  (the number obviously being added by the one who used  $\psi α λ μ ό ς$ ) that it is Lukan redaction and not Pauline reminiscence that is involved at this particular point.
39. cf. J.H. Ropes, B.C. III, 265; Metzger, p. 413.
40. W.H. Brownlee, "Psalms 1-2 as a Coronation Liturgy", Bib. 52 (1971), 322.



41. In footnote 2 of p. 321 he does state that "there is a possibility that 4Q Florilegium also attests Pss. 1 and 2 are a single psalm". But he does not develop this. See below on this point.
42. H. Bardtke, "Erwägungen zu Psalm 1 and Psalm 2", Symbolae Biblicae et Mesopotamicae: Francisco Mario Theodoro de Liagre Böhl dedicatae, ed. M.A. Beek, A.A. Kampman, C. Nijland, J. Ryckmans (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1973), pp. 1-18.
43. Note that from the writing together of Pss. 1 and 2 it does not necessarily follow that Ps. 2 was numbered as Ps. 1. See Bardtke's reference to two MSS from the Wiener Nationalbibliothek, p. 3.
44. Bardtke, p. 4.
45. Bardtke, pp. 4,5.
46. Talmud, Soncino ed, pp. 50,51. See also The Midrash on Psalms, ed. W.G. Braude, I, p. 288 and Metzger, p. 412, n. 25.
47. On the dating of the "Eighteen Benedictions" see Metzger, p. 411 and Judaica, II, 839.
48. See H.L. Strack, Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash (translated from 5th German ed., Jewish Publication Society of America, 1920), pp. 110,133.
49. Bardtke, p. 4, n. 14.
50. Bardtke, pp. 5,6.
51. Bardtke, p. 6.
52. Bardtke, p. 7.
53. Bardtke, p. 7, n. 23.
54. Bardtke does not discuss the passage where Justin (Apol. I, 40) writes Pss. 1 and 2 together. It should be noted that the writing together of Pss. 1 and 2 does not necessarily lead to the conclusion that Pss. 1 and 2 were reckoned as one psalm or that Ps. 2 was considered as the first psalm. In the Wiener Nationalbibliothek there is a Hebrew MS in which Pss. 1 and 2 were written together, but Ps. 2 is reckoned as the second Psalm (See Bardtke, p. 3.) On the other hand, Justin comments only on Ps. 2, not on Ps. 1. Why should he write out both Psalms unless he thought they were one?
55. Origen, Selecta in Psalmos, II (P.G. XII, 1100).
56. For the text see ch. II.
57. Bardtke, pp. 8,9. On the first point see also Brownlee, p. 321, n. 2.



58. Ropes points out that "no extant copy of the Greek Psalter combines the two psalms in one, and neither Origen nor Hilary seems to have known of any that did so." B.C. III, 264. Justin (Apol. I, 40) does write Pss. 1 and 2 together without a break from the LXX. But this only shows that Justin knew of the Jewish tradition not that the two Pss. were actually combined in his Greek O.T. Contra B.F. Westcott and F.J.A. Host who assert that "the same arrangement [i.e. combining Pss. 1 and 2] must have passed into some copies of the LXX, for Justin...transcribes both Psalms continuously as a single prophecy." The New Testament in the Original Greek (2 vols., London, Macmillan, 1881), II, Appendix, 95.
59. See Acts 4:5 where D probably has made an allusion to Ps. 2:2 explicit (ch. III) and Lk. 3:22 (see below) where D has altered the voice from heaven to make it an explicit quotation from Ps. 2:7 LXX. For the tendency among Fathers to cite vs. 8 along with vs. 7 see fn. 206.
60. A. Loisy, Les Actes des Apôtres (Paris: E. Nourry, 1920), pp. 532-534.
61. O. Bauernfeind, Die Apostelgeschichte (Th.H.K. 5, Leipzig, 1939), p. 176.
62. J. Dupont, "'FILIUS MEUS ES TU': L'interpretation de Ps. 2:7 dans le Nouveau Testament", R.S.R. 35 (1948), 528-534.
63. Haenchen, p. 411.
64. E. Schweizer, "The Concept of the Davidic 'Son of God' in Acts and Its Old Testament Background", S.L.A., p. 186.
65. D. Goldsmith, "Acts 13:33-37: A Peshier on II Samuel 7", J.B.L. 87 (1968), 321ff.
66. C. Burger, Jesus als Davidsson (F.R.L.A.N.T. 98, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1970), p. 140, n. 116 and p. 147.
67. Lohfink, p. 232ff.
68. Kränkl, p. 136.
69. E. Lövestam, Son and Saviour: A Study of Acts 13:32-37 (C.N.T. 18, Lund, C.W.K. Gleerup, 1961).
70. T. Zahn, Die Apostelgeschichte (2 vols., K.N.T. 5, Leipzig, 1927), II, 443.
71. K. Lake and H.J. Cadbury state that, "In this case ἀναστῆσας is not exactly a reference to the Resurrection, but to the whole career of Jesus including the Resurrection and the Glorification." B.C. IV, 154, 155.
72. T.E. Page, The Acts of the Apostles (London: Macmillan, 1911), p. 167.

73. E. Preuschen, Die Apostelgeschichte (H.N.T. IV/1, Tübingen, J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1912), p. 85.
74. G.H.W. Lampe, "The Lucan Portrait of Christ", N.T.S. 2 (1955-56), 164. While favoring this view, he admits that it is possible that Ps. 2:7 refers to the resurrection.
75. F.F. Bruce, Commentary on the Book of Acts (London: Marshall, Morgan and Scott, 1954), p. 275, n. 52.
76. G. Stählin, Die Apostelgeschichte (N.T.D. 5, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1962), p. 184.
77. G. Voss, Die Christologie der lukanischen Schriften in Grundzügen (S.N. 2, Paris, Desclée de Brouwer, 1965), p. 134.
78. W. Neil, The Acts of the Apostles (N.Ce.B., London, Oliphants, 1973), p. 159.
79. Rese, pp. 82-86.
80. R.H. Fuller, labels Lövestam's case as "overwhelming". J.B.L. 81 (1962), 295, 296.
81. Lövestam thinks that the exaltation of Jesus is seen in Acts 13:32f (p. 42), but Lohfink takes the opposite view on this point. (p. 236).
82. Lövestam, p. 9. This argument is also found in Bauernfeind, p. 176; E. Jacquier, Les Actes des Apôtres (Paris: J. Gabalda, 1926), p. 403; Haenchen, App. 12ed but this has been dropped in the E.T. of the 14ed. of App.; Schweizer, S.L.A., p. 186; Kränkl, pp. 136, 137.
83. Lövestam, p. 49.
84. Lohfink, p. 233.
85. Lohfink, p. 233. The reference to F. Tillmann is found in Das Neue Testament (München, 1962), p. 387 and to H. Conzelmann in Die Apostelgeschichte (H.N.T. 7, Tübingen, J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1963), p. 16.
86. Lövestam, p. 10.
87. J. Dupont, "FILIUS MEUS ES TU", p. 530.
88. This is even true of Rese who states the argument. Later he merely dismisses it as not important. pp. 83-85.
89. Page, p. 114; Knowling, p. 153; Bruce, Acts (Eng. text), p. 121; Neil, p. 97. For the opposite view see H.H. Wendt, Die Apostelgeschichte (K.E.K., 8th ed. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1913), p. 125, and H.J. Holtzmann, Die Apostelgeschichte (H.C. 1, Freiburg, J.C.B. Mohr, 1892), p. 342. Many fail to comment on this point, e.g. Haenchen, p. 251 and Lake and Cadbury, B.C. IV, 59.

90. I.e., the subject of the passive verb receives the action.
91. M. Black, An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts (3rd ed., Oxford, University Press, 1967), p. 329.
92. See also Lk. 11:31; 24:37.
93. For a minor development of Dupont's position see Lohfink, p. 233. Lohfink asserts that when "ἀνίστημι = erwecken ist bei Lukas auch immer mit einem dativus commodi verbunden." Besides the objections already brought against Dupont's position, it should be pointed out that the addition of ἡμῶν after ἀναστήσας Ἰησοῦν would be awkward and unnecessary. On the possibility of taking the ἡμῶν that precedes ἀναστήσας with ἀναστήσας see Metzger, p. 411.
94. Lövestam, pp. 26,27,39,40.
95. See above all C.P.M. Jones, "The Epistle to the Hebrews and the Lucan Writings", Studies in the Gospels: Essays in Memory of R.H. Lightfoot, ed. D.E. Nineham (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1955), 113-143.
96. J. Moffatt, An Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament (3rd ed., Edinburgh, T. and T. Clark, 1918), p. 437. The only way to avoid this problem is to postulate that Luke wrote Acts and Hebrews or that Acts 13 and Hebrews are both Pauline. If either of these were to be accepted(!), one would still face the problem of determining whether Acts should be interpreted in the light of Hebrews or Hebrews in the light of Acts. Obviously, what must be done is to determine the use of Ps. 2:7 in both cases in its own immediate context.
97. Some commentators (Wendt, pp. 212,213; Preuschen, p. 85) argue that in light of the D text of Luke 3:22, where Ps. 2:7 is clearly connected to the baptism, the use of Ps. 2:7 in Acts 13:33 must also refer to Jesus' baptism. On the other hand, Lohfink (p. 233) and Kränkl (p. 137) challenge the acceptance of the D text of Lk. 3:22 and assert that when the D text is rejected the whole basis for the argument of the other view is missing. But this overlooks the possibility that Lk. 3:22 contains an allusion to Ps. 2:7. It will be shown below that Lk. 3:22 does not contain such an allusion. Therefore, the conclusion of Lohfink and Kränkl that Acts 13:33 should not be interpreted in the light of Lk. 3:22 is correct, but their argument is incomplete.
98. Since the arguments that Ps. 2:7 refers to the resurrection are inconclusive, only a brief sketch of how some have linked Ps. 2:7 to the resurrection will be given. It has often been stated that "you are my son" is a formula of adoption taken over from the Jewish enthronement ritual (see Kränkl, pp. 136, 137). (Of course this explanation also has been applied to Jesus' baptism.). Some, taking this a step further, emphasize the γεγεννηκά σε stating that, "The Resurrection is envisaged as a begetting to eternal life" (Haenchen, p. 411; see also Lohfink, p. 236; Burger, p. 148).

## 98. (Contd.)

Lövestam has gone to great lengths to find evidence of a connection between the resurrection and the birth motif in Judaism and the N.T. (pp. 42-47). His evidence from Judaism is very late, and he himself admits that his N.T. evidence "is somewhat tenuous and partly of little relevance to the interpretation of Acts 13:33" (p. 47). On the other hand, I.H. Marshall thinks that the reference to "begetting" is not to be stressed. He believes that the link between the declaration of sonship and the resurrection is to be found in Wisdom 2:8: "If the righteous man is God's son, he will help him, and will deliver him from the hand of his adversaries." "The Divine Sonship of Jesus", Interp. 21 (1967), 102, 103. Whatever may be thought of these opinions, the idea that Jesus became the Messiah at his resurrection (e.g. see Hayes, p. 336) is not present in Acts 13:33.

- 98a. I Clement 36, 4 (Loeb I, 70); an allusion to Ps. 2:7 may be contained in the phrase ὁ σήμερον υἱός of the Epistle to Diognetus 11:5 (Loeb II, 374; note that chs. 11, 12 may be a later addition by Hippolytus); Gospel of the Ebionites fragment 4 as preserved in Epiphanius Haer. XXX, 17, 7f (Aland, Synopsis, p. 27; Hennecke, I, 157); Justin Dial. 88, 8; (Aland, p. 27), Dial. 103, 6 (Aland, p. 27), Dial. 122, 8 (J.C.T. Otto, S. Justini Opera I, 412), Apol. I, 40 (A.W.F. Blunt, The Apologies of Justin Martyr, pp. 60-62); Irenaeus, Epid. 49 (T.U. XXI, Hft. 1, p. 37); Clement of Alexandria, Paed. I, 6, 25 (G.C.S. I, 105); Tertullian, Adv. Judaeos XII, 1 (C.C.L. II, 1384), Adv. Marcionem III, 20, 3 and IV, 22, 8 (O.E.C.T., I, 230-233 and II, 381), Adv. Praxeas VII, 2 and IX, 3 (C.C.L. II, 1165, 1171); Origen Homily on Luke XXXI, 4 (G.C.S. 2nd ed. IX, 177), Homily on Matthew I, 4 (G.C.S. XII, 243); Homily on Ezekiel VI, 3 (G.C.S. VIII, 381), Commentary on John I, 32 and XIII, 1 (G.C.S. IV, 37, 227), Selecta in Psalmos Ps. II, 538 (P.G. XII, 1100); Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrrhus, has preserved what is judged to be a real fragment from Hippolytus commenting on Ps. 2:7, but the fragment reveals no traces of Ps. 2:7 itself. (Hippolytus, G.C.S. I, 146); Novation, De Trinitate XXVI (C.C.L. IV, 62); Cyprian, Ad Quirium II, 8 and 29 (C.C.L. III, 40 and 68), Didascalia, IX, 2, 32 (R.W. Connolly, Didascalia Apostolorum (Oxford: University Press, 1929), p. 93); Methodius, Symposium VIII, 9 (G.C.S. p. 91); Lactantius, Divinae Institutiones IV, 15 (C.S.E.L. XIX, 329); Alexander of Alexandria, Epistle on the Arian Heresy (G.C.S. p. 17); Eusebius, Demonstration of the Gospel II, 2, 2; IV, 2, 65; IV, 10, 9; IV, 16, 4-8; VI, 2, 4 (G.C.S. VI, 57, 106, 166, 184, 185, 253), Ecclesiastical History I, 3, 6 (G.C.S. II/1, 32). In addition to these 15 Fathers of the first three centuries the reference to fourth century Fathers are to be found in the discussion of Lk. 3:22 below. To these add Gregory of Nyssa, Contra Eunomium IV, 2. It should be noted that there is no attempt made here to give complete coverage of the use of Ps. 2 beyond the end of the third century.



- 98b. In the fourth century Hilary and Ambrose do connect Ps. 2:7 via Acts 13:33 with the resurrection: Hilary, Tractatus in Psalmum II, 30, (C.S.E.L. XXII, 59); but in Section 29 of the same passage and elsewhere he connects Ps. 2:7 to the baptism, i.e. De Trinitate VIII, 25 and XI, 18 (P.L. X 254 and 412). Ambrose, De Fide V, 1, 25 (C.S.E.L. LXXVIII, 225) and De Sacramentis III, 1, 2; V, 4, 26 (S.C. XXV, 71, 96), also links Ps. 2:7 via Acts 13:33 to the resurrection. This is probably also the case in Exposition Evangelii secundum Lucam VI, 106 (C.S.E.L. XXXII, 279) where Ps. 16:10 is cited (cf. Acts 13:35). Both of these Fathers are so late that it cannot be asserted with any confidence that they preserve apostolic tradition. Probably these are giving their own interpretation of Acts 13:33. This is indicated by the fact that Hilary in his Tractatus quotes not only Acts 13:33 but also the first half of vs. 34 ("cum succitavit eum a mortuis, amplius non regressurum in interitum") in support of his Ps. 2:7-resurrection equation.
- 98c. Lindars asserts that in Apol. I, 40, Justin, "who twice cites this verse as the baptismal vox Dei, similarly traces the plot of the psalm in relation to the hostility of the Jewish and imperial rulers when he writes out Pss. 1 and 2 in full, and thereby implies that vs. 7 is fulfilled in the Resurrection without mention of the Baptism." p. 143. It is difficult to see why Lindars believes that Justin here implies that vs. 7 is fulfilled in the resurrection. Indeed in Justin's introduction to the Ps. 1-2 quotation he explicitly gives an interpretation of Ps. 2 vs. 1, 2; 8; 7; 9 and 10. Concerning vs. 7 he says that, καὶ ὅτι αὐτὸν υἱὸν καλεῖ ὁ Θεός (Apol. I, 40, 7).
99. Wendt, pp. 212, 213.
100. Preuschen, p. 85.
101. Rese links vs. 32 to "die ganze historische Erscheinung Jesu" given in vss. 23-31, p. 83. See also J.H. Roberts, "πὰς Θεοῦ and ο υἱος τοῦ Θεοῦ in Acts 1-13", Biblical Essays 1966 Potschefstroom, 1966), p. 257; Lake and Cadbury, see footnote 71 above.
102. Rese p. 84.
103. It is not clear who these fathers (vs. 32) were to whom this promise was made. Acts mentions Abraham, Isaac and Jacob (3:13; 7:32), but the term also is used in reference to the twelve sons of Jacob (7:11, 12, 15), to a group at the close of the Egyptian captivity (7:19), to those with Moses at Sinai (7:38, 39, 44, 51), to those with Joshua (7:45), to those who persecuted the prophets (7:52), to a group of leaders of the past (15:10) and present (22:1) and to the leaders at the time of Isaiah (28:25). Probably the fathers of 13:32 are Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. Whatever may be the correct identification here, it is noteworthy that Jesus is seen as the fulfillment of the promise made to the fathers and the promise made to David. It is possible that Paul viewed the various O.T. covenants as a single unified promise tradition that all related to the promised seed (cf. Gen. 13:15 etc., II Sam. 7:12, Gal. 3:16).

104. Dupont, "FILIUS MEUS ES TU" p. 531.
105. Rese, p. 81, n. 7.
106. The *διαφθοράν* in vs. 34a makes it clear that vs. 34a introduces Ps. 15(16):10 as well as Is. 55:3.
107. If there is no step forward from vs. 33 to vs. 34f, then the elaborate introduction of vs. 34a is superfluous.
108. The exegesis of Ps. 15(16):10 given in vss. 36,37 does not indicate that something more than the fact of Jesus' resurrection is being attested from the O.T. text. That the expression *οὐκ εἶδεν διαφθοράν* in vs. 37 as applied to Jesus means no more than that he was raised is evident from the observations: 1) that Jesus was raised and did not see corruption stands in contrast to David died and saw corruption and 2) that in this contrast *οὐκ εἶδεν διαφθοράν* is simply added to show how Ps. 15(16):10 (*οὐ σῶσεις .... ἰδεῖν διαφθοράν*) was fulfilled. This observation is underscored by the fact that Ps. 15(16):10 was understood by the early community simply as a proof-text for the resurrection of Jesus (Acts 2:25-32).
109. Wendt, p. 213; Rese p. 85 and many others.
110. Lövestam, p. 10.
111. Acts 3:22,26; 7:37; 13:22. The only passage that is debated by commentators on this point is 5:30. See footnote 89.
112. *ἐκ νεκρῶν* is used with the verb in Acts 3:15; 4:10; 10:41; 13:30; 17:3,31.
113. Rese, p. 84, cf. p. 82, n. 10.
114. C.F.D. Moule, "Fulfilment-Words in the New Testament: Use and Abuse", N.T.S. 14 (1967-68), 313. He also points out that this combination "is implied, though not fully expressed, in the *προεπηγγείλατο* of Rom. 1:2."
115. In its O.T. setting Ps. 2:7 spells out the content of the covenant made to David. See ch. I.
116. See ch. one, section III.
117. B. Lindars (p. 141) asserts that the "begetting" of Ps. 2:7 is "a poetic metaphor for the religious significance of the act of enthronement". Unfortunately, he does not provide any evidence to support this point of view.
118. 1) The time of the enthronement is not specified in this context. On the idea that it must refer to the baptism in light of Lk. 3:22 see footnote 97. 2) On the assertion that "you are my son" constitutes an adoption formula see ch. I.
119. Doeve, p. 172; Lövestam, p. 7; L. Hartman, "Davids son Apropå Acts 13, 16-41", S.E.Å. 28-29 (1963-64), 121-123; Goldsmith, pp. 321, 322.



120. Bowker notes that the evidence in Acts 13 for a proem homily pattern is not conclusive. pp. 104, 105.
121. This pattern is derived from homiletic midrashim, especially Tanhuma and Pesiqta. For the matter of dating these see Bowker, p. 79. This is perhaps a weak point in his thesis.
122. Bowker, p. 100.
123. Bowker, p. 104.
124. For the problem of the source of this quotation, Bowker (p. 104) adopts the suggestion of Wilcox (p. 164). cf. Holtz, pp. 133-135.
125. Bowker, p. 102.
126. The relation of Is. 55:3 to Ps. 15(16):10 is very complex and has been much debated (for a summary of the literature see Holtz, p. 137ff and Rese p. 86ff). To enter into this debate would necessitate going outside the scope of this present study. Lövestam's position that the troublesome  $\sigma\iota\alpha$  of Is. 55:3 can be explained without referring to  $\sigma\iota\omicron\nu$  of Ps. 15:10 is convincing. Therefore, the relation of Ps. 15(16):10 to Is. 55:3 is not one of explaining Is. 55:3 but of establishing the promise of Is. 55:3 by the resurrection.
127. Midrashic is being used here in terms of technique not stance (for this distinction see ch. III).
128. On the relation of Ps. 2:7 to II Sam. 7:14 see ch. I. The linking of Ps. 2 (though not vs. 7) to II Sam. 7:14 has a significant pre-Christian Jewish Traditionsgeschichte. See P.S. 17:23ff; Sirach 47:11, 4QFlor (see ch. II for details). In the N.T. see Heb. 1:5.
129. On the relation of Is. 55:3 to II Sam. 7:15, 16 see W. Brueggemann, "Isaiah 55 and Deuteronomic Theology", Z.A.W. 80 (1968), 196; K. Seybold, Das davidische Königtum im Zeugnis der Propheten (F.R.L.A.N.T. 107, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1972), pp. 153, 154.
130. This is the conclusion of Lövestam's lengthy and convincing study. p. 77. For a survey of opinions about what  $\sigma\iota\alpha$  means in this context see Lövestam, pp. 50-54. To his list now should be added the contributions of Holtz (p. 138) and Rese (pp. 86, 87). The last two scholars, plus others cited by Lövestam, reject the idea that  $\sigma\iota\alpha$  should be defined in terms of its O.T. context ( $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \sigma\iota\alpha\theta\eta\sigma\omicron\mu\alpha\iota\ \upsilon\mu\acute{\iota}\nu\ \sigma\iota\alpha\theta\eta\kappa\eta\nu\ \alpha\iota\acute{\omega}\nu\iota\omicron\nu,\ \tau\alpha\ \sigma\iota\alpha\ \Delta\alpha\upsilon\iota\delta\ \tau\alpha\ \pi\iota\sigma\tau\alpha$ ) because in Acts 13:34 the  $\upsilon\mu\acute{\iota}\nu$  of Is. 55:3 has been retained but the following  $\sigma\iota\alpha\theta\eta\kappa\eta\nu\ \alpha\iota\acute{\omega}\nu\iota\omicron\nu$  has been omitted. The explanation of this omission perhaps lies in the observation that the Davidic covenant is referred to in terms of promise (vs. 23), not covenant. See Excursus: Paul and Acts 13.

131. cf. Lk. 1:32,33 where there is sonship, permanence and dominion.
132. ἑπαγγελία and haftarah are one and the same thing.
133. For a definition of terms see ch. III.
134. Goldsmith characterizes Acts 13:33-37 as "A Pesher on II Sam. 7", p. 321. While agreeing that the stance is that of pesher, it would be better to describe the literary genre of the section as midrash. The problem here is the vexing one of definition of terms. As outlined in ch. III "pesher" has been applied to a hermeneutical stance, a literary genre and hermeneutical techniques. Perhaps it would be best to limit the term to the matter of stance since it is not clear that pesher is a literary genre (see A.S. Wright, The Literary Genre Midrash (New York: Alba House, 1967), pp. 8-85) and since the techniques used to work out the pesher stance are those found in the midrashim.
135. In addition to the standard commentaries and christologies see the following selection: M.E. Boismard, "Constitué Fils de Dieu (Rom. 1:4)", R.B. 60 (1953), 5-17; I.H. Marshall, "The Divine Sonship of Jesus", pp. 100-103; E. Schweizer, "Ecumenism in the New Testament. The Belief in the 'Son of God'", Perspective 9 (1968), 39-59; R. Cantalamessa, "La primitiva esegesi cristologica di Romani I, 3-4 e Luca 1:35", Revista di storia e letteratura religiosa 21 (1966), 69-80; G. Ruggieri, Il Figlio di Dio davidico. Studio sulla delle tradizioni contenute in Rom. 1:3-4 (An.Gr. 166, Romae Pontificiae Universitatis Gregoriana, 1968), esp. pp. 114-127, 136-137; H.-W. Bartsch, "Zur vorpaulinischen Bekenntnisformel im Eingang des Römerbriefes", Th.Z. 23 (1967) 329-339; L.C. Allen, "The Old Testament Background of (ΠΡΟ) 'ΟΡΙΖΕΙΝ in the New Testament", N.T.S. 17 (1971), 104-108; E. Linnemann, "Tradition und Interpretation in Röm. 1:3f", Ev.Th. 31 (1971), 264-275; J.D.G. Dunn, "Jesus — Flesh and Spirit: An Exposition of Romans 1:3-4", J.Th.S. N.S. 24 (1973), 40-68; H. Schiler, "Zu Röm. 1:3f", Neues Testament und Geschichte pp. 207-218. See also the literature below.
136. E.g. Lövestam thinks that, "It is clear that the expression υἱοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν δυνάμει 'Son of God in power', here lies very near Ps. 2:7 and is perhaps directly connected with this scriptural passage as applied in the Primitive Church to Christ's exaltation." p. 47. Van Iersel asserts that "der Titel ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ und der Traditionskomplex des 2. Psalms in der ältesten Periode der christlichen Glaubensverkündigung eine wichtige Rolle spielten." pp. 70,71. While Son of God in the N.T. may be connected with Ps. 2:7, it does not follow that every occurrence of Son of God can be traced back to Ps. 2:7. E.g. in Lk. 1:32,33 it seems fairly clear that Son of God should be traced back to II Sam 7 (or Is. 9:6) but not Ps. 2:7.
137. Allen, p. 104.
138. J.G. Snaithe, "Biblical Quotations in the Hebrew of Ecclesiasticus", J.Th.S. N.S. 18 (1964), 1-11.

139. Allen, p. 104.
140. In Acts 13:23 the ἀπὸ τοῦ σπέρματος κατ' ἐπαγγελίαν is related to II Sam. 7:12.
141. O. Betz, What Do We Know About Jesus?, trans. M. Kohl (London: S.C.M., 1968), p. 96. See also Dulling. p. 73.
142. M. Black, "Notes on the Longer and the Shorter Text of Acts", On Language, Culture and Religion: In Honor of E.A. Nida, ed. M. Black and W.A. Smalley (Moulton: Paris, 1974), pp. 121,122.
143. Allen, p. 104. His citation of Ecclus. 47:11 ("the decree of the kingdom") as an example of "God's effectual royal decree as an eschatological promise" is not correct. The immediate context of Ecclus. 47:11 is not eschatological (see ch. II), and it does not help to link ρη of Ps. 2:7 to ὀρισθέντος of Rom 1:4.
144. See ch. two, II, D.
145. Allen, p. 104.
146. Allen, p. 104.
147. Allen, p. 106.
148. See ch. III, n. 1.
149. Allen, p. 106.
150. See ch. III where it is pointed out that Luke has passed up an opportunity to allude to Ps. 2:2 while Matthew has not. This is especially striking in light of the fact that it is only Luke (Lk. 23:12) who reports the "coming together" of Herod and Pilate as seen in Acts 4:25ff where Ps. 2:1,2 is cited.
151. Allen, p. 107.
152. Allen, p. 107. Underlining added.
153. Allen, p. 108. Underlining added.
154. Prior to his conclusion on I Cor. 2:8, Allen, himself, admits that his interpretation is a "reading between the lines". p. 107.
155. Without further evidence, a bare reference to "Son" cannot be accounted as an allusion to Ps. 2. This calls in question the validity of Allen's basic hypothesis that the "verb occurs in a context from which Ps. 2 and/or Christ's sonship is not far removed". p. 104. Underlining added.
156. Excluding the D text of Lk. 3:22.
157. If Hebrews was originally a homily ( τοῦ λόγου τῆς παρακλήσεως , Heb. 13:22), then all three full citations are found in homilies (cf. λόγος παρακλήσεως , Acts 13:15). In favour of such a

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- position see J. Swetnam, "On the Literary Genre of the 'Epistle' to the Hebrews", Nov. T. 11 (1969), 261-269. In this study Hebrews will be referred to as an epistle or letter, but this does not reflect a judgment on this issue.
158. For this debate see Kümmel, pp. 273-282 and D. Guthrie, New Testament Introduction (3rd ed., London, Tyndale Press, 1970), pp. 685-718. See also the lengthy survey article by E. Grässer, "Der Hebräerbrief 1938-1963", Th.R. 50 (1964), 138-236, esp. 145-167. For additional materials on Hebrews see the bibliographies of F. Schröger, Der Verfasser des Hebräerbriefes als Schriftausleger (B.U. 4, Regensburg, Pustet, 1968); G. Theissen, Untersuchungen zum Hebräerbrief (St.N.T. 2, Gütersloh, Gord Mohr, 1969); R. Williamson, Philo and the Epistle to the Hebrews (A.L.G.H.L. 4, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1970).
159. B.F. Westcott, The Epistle to the Hebrews (3rd ed., London, Macmillan, 1903), p. 20. God is also depicted as the speaker of Ps. 2:7 in its O.T. setting: "I will tell the decree of the LORD."
160. The description of the nature of the problem faced by the recipients of Hebrews varies from scholar to scholar, but the following scholars see some problem about angels being combated. H. Windisch, Der Hebräerbrief (H.N.T. 2nd ed., Tübingen, J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1931), p. 17; O. Michel, Der Brief an die Hebräer (K.E.K. 13, 12th ed., Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1966), pp. 131-133; C. Spicq, "L'Épître aux Hébreux, Apollos, Jean-Baptiste, les Hellénistes et Qumrân", R. Qum. 1 (1959), 377; T.W. Manson, Studies in the Gospels and Epistles, ed. M. Black (Manchester, University Press, 1962), pp. 253, 254; H. Montefiore, A Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews (London: A. and C. Black, 1964), pp. 41, 42.
161. One of the earliest attempts to utilize the Qumran finds to illuminate Heb. 1,2 is found in the essay by Y. Yadin, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Epistle to the Hebrews", Scripta Hierosolymitana, ed. C. Rabin and Y. Yadin (Publication of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Aspects of the Dead Sea Scrolls, Jerusalem, Magnes Press, 1958), IV, 36-55, esp. 39, 40, 45-48; M. de Jonge and A.S. van der Woude think that 11QMelch "illustrates the type of thinking about angels and other heavenly beings which the author of Hebrews is up against." But they state with caution that the new material in 11QMelch does not enable them to assert "with certainty that Hebrews is directed against adherents of the Qumran sect." "11Q Melchizedek and the New Testament", N.T.S. 12 (1966), 317, 318; For criticism of Yadin's position see W. LaSor, The Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1972), p. 187-190. For criticism of Yadin, H. Kosmala (Hebraer-Essener-Christen (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1959)) and others see the survey articles by F.F. Bruce, "'To the Hebrews' or 'To the Essenes'", N.T.S. 9 (1962-63), 217-32 and I.W. Batdorf, "Hebrews and Qumran: Old Methods and New Directions",



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- Festschrift to Honor F. Wilbur Gingrich ed. E.H. Barth and R.E. Cocroft (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1972), pp. 16-35.
162. On the basis of the book of Hebrews itself Bruce observes that, "There is nothing here to suggest that the recipients of the letter were addicted to angel-worship. Of course they may have been, for ought we know." "'To the Hebrews' or 'To the Essenes'", p. 218.
163. Williamson, p. 189. F.F. Bruce commenting on Heb. 2:1-4 states that "the main reason for which the Son's superiority to angels has been so emphasized now begins to appear." Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews (London: Marshall, Morgan and Scott, 1964), p. 27, (abbreviated hereafter as Heb.).
164. See Westcott, p. 16.
165. Gal. 3:19; Acts 7:53, cf. vs. 38.
166. This is the view taken by W.R. Smith, "Christ and the Angels", Exp., 2nd series, 1 (1881), 139, 140 see also 25-33; E.C. Wickham, The Epistle to the Hebrews (London: Methuen, 1910), p. 5; Bruce Heb. p. 27; O. Kuss, Der Brief an die Hebräer (R.N.T. 8, 2nd ed., Regensburg, Pustet, 1966), p. 27; Schröger, p. 77; Williamson, p. 189.
167. Montefiore, p. 39; see also R. Abba, "Name", I.D.B. III, 500.
168. Westcott agrees that Son was part of the name, but it was also "the name which gathered up all that Christ was found to be by believers, Son, Sovereign and Creator, the Lord of the Old Covenant, as is shewn in the remainder of the chapter." p. 17. But the  $\text{ὁ Θεός}$  of 1:8 (Ps. 44:7 LXX) and the  $\text{κύριε}$  of 1:10 (Ps. 101:26 LXX) are applied to the Son of 1:8,  $\text{πρὸς δὲ τὸν υἱόν}$ , and not to the  $\text{ὄνομα}$  of 1:4. There is general agreement among scholars that the name that Christ has obtained is that of Son. See M. Dods, "Hebrews", The Expositor's Greek Testament, ed. W.R. Nicoll (5 vols., London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1910), IV, 253; J. Hering, The Epistle to the Hebrews, trans. A.W. Heathcote and P.J. Allcock (London: Epworth Press, 1970), p. 7; Bruce, Heb., pp. 8, 9; Michel, p. 105; Kuss, p. 31; Montefiore, p. 39. F. Delitzsch agrees that the name is Son, but he believes that it is more than that. It is the "nomen explicitum", which on this side eternity no human ear has heard, no human heart conceived, no human tongue expressed." Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews, trans. T.L. Kingsburg (2 vols., Edinburgh, T. and T. Clark, 1868), I, 60.
169. Michel thinks that for the author in this context to say that God never called the angels sons of God is striking "denn tatsächlich gibt es eine alttestamentliche...und apokalyptische Anschauung...nach der die Engel Söhne Gottes oder des Himmels sind." He offers the explanation that the author has either forgotten the custom of the LXX which occasionally calls angels  $\text{υἱοὶ Θεοῦ}$  or "hat er sie dadurch verneint, dass er den rabbinischen Schluss 'Quod non in tora, non est in

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mundo' zog?" p. 111. A. Bakker conjectures that the author is unaware of the angels being called sons of God because he is completely dependent on a "Testimony Book" which in turn is dependent on the Targums where son of God as a name for angels has been avoided. "Christ an Angel?", Z.N.W. 32 (1933), 261. But there is no need to offer such explanations. Westcott's comment goes to the root of the misunderstanding: "Angels as a body are sometimes called 'sons of God' (Ps. 29:1, 89:6) but to no one angel (  $\tau\epsilon\chi\upsilon$  ) is the title 'son of God' given individually in all the long line of revelation." p. 20. See also Delitzsch, I, 59,60; Dods, IV, 253.

170. This is also the contribution of II Sam. 7:14.

171. So Westcott, p. 6; Dods, IV, 248, Michel, pp. 93, 94.

172. R.E. Brown, Jesus: God and Man (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1968), pp. 23-25; O. Cullmann commenting on Heb. 1:2 says "'Son of God', then, means complete participation in the Father's deity." The Christology of the New Testament, trans. S.C. Guthrie and C.A.M. Hall (London: S.C.M., 1959), p. 305, cf. pp. 310, 311. R.G. Hammerton-Kelly, Pre-Existence, Wisdom and the Son of Man: A Study of the Idea of Pre-Existence in the New Testament (M.S.S.N.T.S. 21, Cambridge, University Press, 1973), p. 246; R.N. Longenecker, The Christology of Early Jewish Christianity (S.B.T., 2nd series 17, London, S.C.M., 1970), p. 137; but cf. V. Taylor, "Does the New Testament call Jesus God?", E.T. 63 (1962), 116-118.

173. J. Moffatt states that the "today" "might allude either to the baptism or to the resurrection of Christ in primitive Christian usage; the latter would be more congenial to our author, if it were assumed that he had any special incident in mind. But he simply quotes the text for the purpose of bringing out the title of Son as applied to Christ" A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1924), p. 9. Kuss notes that, "Da es im Zusammenhang vor allen auf das Wort 'Sohn' ankommt, liegt eine genauere zeitliche Bestimmung des 'heute' kaum im Sinne des Autors." p. 36. So too Schröger, p. 40, n. 1; Héring, p. 8; Wickham, p. 6; A.B. Davidson, The Epistle to the Hebrews (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1959), p. 74; Rese, p. 91; H. Strathmann, Der Brief an die Hebräer (N.T.D. 9, 6th ed., Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1953), p. 77. Likewise no special attention is given to  $\gamma\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\nu\nu\eta\kappa\alpha$   $\sigma\epsilon$ , and there is no indication in the context of the idea of "adoption". Indeed the Son christology of Hebrews (1:2, 5:8) speaks against this. On adoption see ch. I, n. 109.

174. Michel seems to move in this direction when he interprets the "today" of 1:5 in the light of the theological significance attached to it in Heb. 3,4, p. 110.



175. Westcott (p. 21) and Dods (IV, 254) refer Ps. 2:7 to a resurrection which includes the ascension. Others connect it directly to the resurrection, e.g. W. Bousset, Kyrios Christos, trans. J.E. Steely (New York: Abingdon Press, 1970), p. 338; Delitzsch, I, 64. Of special interest is Lindars who after citing Acts 13:33, Heb. 1:5; 5:5; 7:28 states that, "These references use this verse in relation to the Resurrection." p. 140. Later he admits that, "It is true that the quotation of it [Ps. 2:7] in 1:5 follows a statement of the pre-existence and eternal sonship of Jesus in the opening verses." Yet, "The quotation retains its original connection with the Resurrection, though probably including metaphysical implications not present in the earlier period." pp. 141, 142. By the time p. 211 is reached this "probably" has been dropped, and Lindars writes that, "Thus in Heb. 1:5 there is a quotation of the messianic Ps. 2:7, which, as we have seen, was originally applied to the Resurrection. But here it is adduced to prove the prior metaphysical relationship with God, in contrast to the angels."
176. J. Dupont, "FILIUS MEUS ES TU", pp. 522, 535ff; Bruce, Heb. p. 13; Lövestam, pp. 27ff; Lohfink, p. 92; I.H. Marshall, "The Development of Christology in the Early Church", Tyn.B. 18 (1967), 87, 88; E. Schweizer, Lordship and Discipleship (S.B.T. 18, London, S.C.M., 1960), p. 73; Fuller, p. 187; D.M. Hay, Glory at the Right Hand: Psalm 110 in Early Christianity (Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series 18, New York: Abingdon, 1973), p. 85.
177. Montefiore speaks of "the eternal generation of the Son", but this, of course, is not an attempt "to identify a moment in time which corresponds to today." pp. 44, 45. Schröger (p. 40, n. 1) cites J. Chr. K. Hofmann, Der Brief an die Hebräer, (Nördlingen, 1873), p. 72, and E. Rüggenback, Der Brief an die Hebräer (Leipzig, 1922), p. 18 who refer the "today" to the incarnation of Christ. There is no indication from the context of Heb. 1 that the incarnation is in view.
178. There is no reference or clear allusion to the resurrection of Christ in Heb. 1, 2. Indeed, the only reference to Christ's resurrection is found in the closing prayer of 13:20. cf. Reese, p. 91, n. 50.
179. Lohfink, pp. 91, 92. He assumes without discussion that "today" of Ps. 2:7 must refer to some specific day.
180. Lohfink, p. 92.
181. Lohfink, p. 92.
182. Lohfink, p. 92.
183. Michel, p. 105. For the construction in Philo and in Hebrews see Williamson, pp. 93-95.
184. H. von Soden commenting on this contrast notes that, "Des Perf. schliesst die Beziehung der Aussage auf ἐκάθισεν ἐν δεξιᾷ κατὰ aus." Hebräerbrief, Briefe des Petrus,

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Jakobus, Judas (H.C.III/2, 3rd ed., Tübingen, J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1899), p. 22; Montefiore writes that, "The name of Son, however, unlike that of Lord, has not been given in virtue of exaltation into heaven, but it is his from eternity, and the perfect tense of the Greek verb  $\kappa\epsilon\kappa\lambda\eta\rho\omicron\nu\acute{o}\mu\eta\kappa\epsilon\nu$  indicates that it is a name which he has not only been given but keeps." p. 39.

185. If one connects the inheritance of the name "Son" in 1:4b to the exaltation in 1:3b,4a, this must be placed along side Hebrews' affirmation of Christ's sonship before the exaltation (1:2; 5:8). This leads some scholars to speak of "tensions in the author's christology" (e.g. Hay, p. 86, n. 140). At least three approaches have been taken by scholars to account for (1,2) or to deny (3) this alleged tension. 1) The alleged tension is credited to the author's use of conflicting traditions. This is the position of Hay (p. 86, n. 140), Fuller (p. 187) and Hahn (p. 287). Fuller clearly recognizes the conflict created when Ps. 2:7 is attached to the exaltation. He says, "The author of Hebrews, as he makes plain in his exordium (Heb. 1:1f), has himself a very different Christology of Jesus' Sonship, than that expressed in Heb. 1:5. "For the author of Hebrews  $\psi\acute{\alpha}\omicron\varsigma$  is a generalized designation covering the whole of the Redeemer's work from pre-existence through incarnate life and death to resurrection, exaltation and parousia." Fuller (p. 187) locates the source of the conflicting traditions in the O.T. quotations of Heb. 1:5-13 which drew "upon much earlier exegetical tradition". Although Fuller does note the conflict between 1:2 and 1:5, he does not mention that on the basis of his position there is also a conflict between 1:2 and 1:4b. 2) The sonship of Jesus is divided into two (or three) variously defined stages. Westcott writes that, "The possession of the 'name' — His own eternally — was, in our human mode of speech, consequent on the Incarnation, and the permanent issue of it." But in the same paragraph he also states that "the 'name'... was 'inherited' by the ascended Christ." p. 17. Westcott seems to be positing three stages: eternity, incarnation, exaltation. Schweizer states that in Heb. 1:5 Ps. 2:7 "is applied to the exaltation of Jesus...although the author certainly could not say in the strict sense of the word that the begetting of the Son takes place at this 'day' of the ascension." He tries to solve this two-stage problem by asserting that, "The dignity to which the ascended Christ is appointed is strictly speaking no longer that of the Son but that of the High Priest of the order of Melchizedek." Lordship and Discipleship, pp. 73,74. It is difficult to see how Christ's priesthood can be introduced into Heb. 1. Ps. 2:7 in Heb. 1:5 is clearly connected to sonship. (In the " $\psi\acute{\alpha}\omicron\varsigma$ " article for T.D.N.T. VIII, 388, n. 394, Schweizer seems to account for the tension in terms of conflicting traditions.) Marshall holds that "'Son' belongs to the pre-existent Jesus" and yet is to be associated with the exaltation. He emphasizes that, "It is quite certain that the author of Hebrews did not think that Jesus received the title 'Son' for the first time at His exaltation." "Development of Christology..." pp. 88,89. Marshall thinks that in Heb. 1,

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"We have a line of thought parallel to that in Philippians 2:9-11; on this view Jesus is here given the title 'Son' at His exaltation, just as in the hymn in Philippians He is given the title of 'Lord'." p. 88 But is Heb. 1 parallel to Phil. 2? It should be noted that a) "Lord" is not applied to Jesus in Philippians (or the rest of Paul's writings, cf. Fuller, p. 230) until the exaltation whereas in Heb. "Son" is applied to the pre-existent Jesus (1:2); 2) the hymn of Philippians is in the pattern of *κατάβασις - ἀνάβασις* whereas in Heb. 1 there is only an explicit *ἀνάβασις* and c) the title in Phil. is "Lord" which in the O.T. is applied to Yahweh whereas in Heb. 1 the title is "Son" which in the O.T. is never applied to Yahweh. (For a more positive evaluation of the parallel between Phil. 2 and Heb. 1 see R.P. Martin, Carmen Christi: Philippians 2:5-11 in Recent Interpretation and in the Setting of Early Christian Worship (M.S.S.N.T.S. 4, Cambridge, University Press, 1967), p. 305, n. 8; Michel, p. 106.) 3) Unlike positions one and two, E. Grässer maintains that there is no tension in the Son christology. He declares that Heb. 1:2; 5:8 are to be considered as a "proleptischer Gebrauch des Titels 'Sohn'". "Hebräer 1:1-4, Ein exegetische Versuch", Evangelische-katholischer Kommentar (4 vols. and continuing, Benziger, Neukirchener, 1971), IV, 81, n. 209.

186. This is well established for Heb. 5:1-10. See below.

187. In what sense has the Son become ( *γενόμενος* ) greater than the angels? This is probably to be explained in connection with the assertion that Jesus "for a little while was made lower than the angels" (Heb. 2:9).

188. cf. Bl.-D., section 473(2).

189. Wickham notes that, "The argument of vv. 5f is appended not to the statement that He is 'better than the angels', but that He 'has inherited a more excellent name than they'". p. 5.

190. Lohfink, p. 92.

190a. This is apparently true for the fourth century as well.

190b. See below for the discussion showing that I Clement is dependent upon Heb. 1.

191. Those scholars (Lövestam, pp. 29ff; Michel, p. 116; Hay, p. 86; Grässer, E.K.K. pp. 89,90), who introduce here a history-of-religions dimension, speak of an indirect influence of an Egyptian enthronement pattern. They are usually repeating the briefly stated position of J. Jeremias (Die Brief an Timotheus und Titus (N.T.D. 9, 6th ed., Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1953), pp. 22,23) who in turn is dependent upon E. Norden, Die Geburt des Kindesgeschichte einer religiösen Idee (Leipzig, 1924), pp. 116ff. The three stages in the Egyptian enthronement are 1) exaltation (king receives divine attributes), 2) presentation (before the circle of gods) and 3) enthronement (king receives his rulership). But in Hebrews 1) the reception of the "name" (i.e. divine attributes) is not to be associated with the exaltation of Heb. 1:3; 4a. 2) Although there is a

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- command for the angels to worship the son, there is no mention of a presentation of the son to a circle of gods. 3) There is no distinction between exaltation of Heb. 1:3 and the "enthronement" of Heb. 1:13, i.e. both are references to Ps. 110:1. Indeed, Hay is forced to speak of "the repetition of the announcement of exaltation." p. 86. Moule's comment on Jeremias' view of I Timothy 3:16 that, "It requires, however, some degree of stretching to extract this particular pattern..." is likewise applicable to Heb. 1. The Birth of the New Testament (2nd ed., London, A. and C. Black, 1966) p. 24. See also J.N.D. Kelly, A Commentary on the Pastoral Epistles (London: A. and C. Black, 1963), pp. 92, 93.
192. Bruce says that "these words no doubt echo the oracle of Ps. 2:8...." Heb., pp. 3,4. So too Westcott, p. 8; S. Kistemaker, The Psalm Citations in the Epistle to Hebrews (Amsterdam, 1961), p. 80; Michel, p. 94; Dods, IV, 249; Lövestam, p. 97; Wickham, p. 3.
193. Paul does argue in Gal. 4:7 that "if a son then an heir" (see also Rom. 8:14-17), but here he is not speaking of Christ as messianic Son but of believers as sons. In Rev. 21:7 the son (believer, not Christ) of II Sam. 7:14 inherits the water of life.
194. A possible biblical parallel to Heb. 1:2 is found in the "Parable of the Rejected Son" (Mk. 12:1ff; Mt. 21:33ff; Lk. 20:9ff) where the Son who is heir is considered by some scholars to be a reference by Christ to himself. See below.
195. Westcott, p. 7. So too Dods, IV, 249; Hering, p. 3; C.F.D. Moule, An Idiom-Book of New Testament Greek (2nd ed., Cambridge, University Press, 1963), p. 114.
196. Cullmann, p. 305.
197. See S.G. Sowers, The Hermeneutics of Philo and Hebrew (Richmond, Va., John Knox Press, 1965), pp. 66ff; Williamson, pp. 409ff; E. Käsemann, Das wandernde Gottesvolk (4th ed., Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1961), pp. 71ff; J.T. Sanders, The New Testament Christological Hymns: Their Historical Religious Background (M.S.S.N.T.S. 15, Cambridge, University Press, 1971), pp. 92ff; D.W.B. Robinson, "The Literary Structure of Hebrews, 1:1-4", Australian Journal of Biblical Archaeology 2 (1972) 178-186; Fuller, pp. 220-221; A. Stadelmann, "Zur Christologie des Hebräerbriefes in der neuern Diskussion", Theologische Berichte II (Zurich: Benziger, 1973), pp. 135-222, see esp. pp. 150-164; Grässer, E.K.K., p. 63; E.M. Yamauchi, Pre-Christian Gnosticism: A Survey of the Proposed Evidences (London: Tyndale Press, 1973), p. 51.
198. For hints of prophet christology and Son of Man christology see respectively Longenecker, p. 32 and Michel, p. 106.



199. H. Alford, The Greek Testament (4 vols., 2nd ed., London, Rivingtons, 1862), IV, 4. cf. Moffatt, p. 5.
200. Delitzsch, I, 44.
201. Michel, p. 103; Davidson, p. 40; Fuller, p. 220.
202. Westcott states that, "There is nothing to determine the 'time' of the divine appointment." p. 7. Moffatt writes that, "It is the fact of this position, not the time, that the writer has in mind." p. 5; Nairne, p. 6; cf. Kuss, p. 29.
203. After reviewing the pre-temporal and temporal positions, Héring notes that  $\tau(\Theta\eta\mu\epsilon$  "can mean 'designate' as a future heir. The two explanations are therefore not mutually exclusive." p. 3. See also Westcott, pp. 7,8; Dods. IV, 249, 250.
204. Montefiore, p. 34; cf. Michel, p. 94; Moffatt, p. 5.
205. Héring, p. 3.
206. The idea of employing Ps. 2:8 in association with the salvation of the gentiles rather than their destruction is attested in many Fathers beginning with Justin Martyr. In Dial 122 (Otto, S. Justini Opera I, 412) Justin explains to Trypho that the new covenant and its proselytes do not refer to the old law and its proselytes. Rather the new covenant is Christ (Ps. 2:7), and the proselytes are the gentile Christians (Ps. 2:8). In Apol. I 40 (A.W.F. Blunt, Apologies of Justin Martyr, p. 61) Justin gives an interpretation of Ps. 2 in which he deals with vss. 1,2,7,8,9,10; but he places the interpretation of vs. 8 before vs. 7. Apparently he does this to avoid attaching vs. 8 to vs. 9 which he interprets in terms of subduing enemies. Concerning vs. 8 he says  $\delta\tau\iota\ \pi\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\mu\epsilon\lambda\lambda\epsilon\nu\ \upsilon\pi\omicron\ \tau\omega\nu\ \epsilon\kappa\ \pi\alpha\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \gamma\epsilon\nu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \alpha\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\omega\nu$  Irenaeus in Adv. Haer. IV, 21, 3 (S.C. C/2, 682,683) declares that just as "various coloured sheep were allotted to this Jacob as his wages" so also "the wages of Christ are human beings, who from various and diverse nations come together into one cohort (cohortem,  $\pi\omicron\iota\acute{\omicron}\mu\nu\eta\nu$ ) of faith as the Father who promised Him, says, 'Ask of me...'" (A.N.F. I, 493) Clement of Alexandria in Stromata IV 22 (G.C.S. II, 308) states that "in the person of God it is said to the Lord, 'Ask of Me, and I will give the heathen for Thine inheritance' teaching Him to ask a truly regal request — that is, the salvation of men without price." (A.N.F. II, 434). Tertullian in Adv. Marcionem III, 20, 3 (O.E.C.T. I 230-233) shows that after the coming of Christ certain events, which had been prophecied, have occurred; namely "all the nations since then are looking up out of the abyss of human error towards God the Creator, and toward his Christ an allusion to Ps. 2:2 ." Then he cites Ps. 2:7,8 showing that this applies to Christ, not David; and he interprets vs. 8 by stating that Christ has "now taken the whole world captive by the faith of his gospel." (see also Adv. Judaeos XII, 1; C.C.L. II, 1384). The same tradition is found in Origen, e.g. in Homily on Matthew I, 4 (G.C.S. XII, 243) Ps. 2:8 is clearly linked to the salvation of the gentiles in a comment on Mt. 1:22 ("he will save his people from their sins"). Fragments

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on Matthew, No. 571 (G.C.S. XII, 235) links Ps. 2:8 with Mt. 28:18! (K.H. Rengstorff believes that he can detect the influence on Ps. 2:8 upon Mt. 28:16ff. "Old and New Testament Traces of a Formula of the Judaean Royal Ritual", Nov. T. 5 (1962), 239-241; cf. Gundry, p. 147.) Also see Contra Celsum IV, 8; V 32 (G.C.S. I, 280; II, 34). Eusebius in Demonstration of the Gospel IV, 16, 5-6 (G.C.S. VI, 185) quotes Ps. 2:7,8 and then asserts that "surely only in Him has this part of the prophecy received an indubitable fulfilment, since the voice of His disciples has gone forth into all the earth, and their words to the end of the world" (cf. Ps. 18:5 LXX) (W.J. Ferrar, The Proof of the Gospel, I, 204). See also Demonstration of the Gospel II, 2,2; III, 2, 65; IV, 10, 9; VI 2,4 (G.C.S. VI, 57, 106, 166, 253) and Ecclesiastical History I, 3,6 (G.C.S. II/1, 32). Perhaps the addition of vs. 8 to vs. 7 by D in Acts 13:33 is in part due to this tradition.

207. Schröger, p. 38.

208. It should be noted that the general idea of the messianic age of fulfillment is referred to in Heb. 1:1,2; but 1:4b,5a determines the function of Ps. 2:7. In Acts 4:25,26; 13:32ff the context makes it plain that Ps. 2 is being used in a prophecy-fulfillment schema.

209. Montefiore, p. 43.

210. Hay, pp. 38-40.

211. R. Harris, Testimonies (2 vols., Cambridge, University Press, 1916, 1920), II, 43-50. For others who think that Hebrews used a "Testimony Book" see D. Plooi, Studies in the Testimony Book (Amsterdam, 1932), pp. 31ff; Bakker, p. 261; F.G. Synge, Hebrews and the Scriptures (London: S.P.C.K., 1959), p. 53.

212. Although Qumran has provided a Jewish "Testimony Book" (4QTest), the criticisms of C.H. Dodd against a Christian "Testimony Book" are still valid. According to the Scripture: The Sub-structure of New Testament Theology (London: J. Nisbet, 1952), p. 26. See also R.H. Gundry, The Use of the Old Testament in St. Matthew's Gospel (Supp. to Nov. T. 18, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1967), pp. 163ff; D.M. Smith, "The Use of the Old Testament in the New", The Use of the Old Testament in the New and Other Essays: Studies in Honor of W.F. Stinespring, ed. J.M. Efird (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1972), pp. 25-30.

213. Hay, p. 39.

214. Theissen, p. 34.

215. It is possible that Clement has found the description "Protector" in a liturgical source (I Clement 61:3; 64:1).

216. Grässer thinks that Theissen's view is unconvincing. E.K.K., p. 64, n. 74.

217. D.A. Hagner, The Use of the Old and New Testaments in Clement of Rome (Supp. to Nov. T. 34, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1973), pp. 179-195.



218. Montefiore (p. 43) quoting Lindars, p. 17.
219. Montefiore, p. 44.
220. Montefiore's suggestions of the "original use" of the various texts before they were "ill-adapted" to their present use is as follows: Ps. 2:7 originally was used to attest the resurrection (p. 44), II Sam. 7:14 originally "proves the eternal and continuing status of the Son of God" (p. 45), Deut. 32:43 originally "stood sixth in the catena and was used as a proof-text of the Christian Pentecost" (p. 46), "in the original catena of quotations this verse [Ps. 45:6,7] proved from scripture both the Baptism of Christ...and the heavenly announcement at his baptism of his divine sonship" (p. 47), Ps. 101:25-27 originally was "used to demonstrate that the resurrection of Jesus had been promised in the scripture" (p. 48) and Ps. 110:1 in the original catena was used "to prove Christ's ascension and final victory" (p. 49). Of these "original uses" only Ps. 110:1 is definitely verifiable from other N.T. sources. The rest are conjecture.
221. Schröger is more confident and asserts that, "Mit wirklich gutem Grund kann man für diese Kombination die 'Testimonienbuch-Hypothese' als berechtigt gelten lassen — aber eben nur für diesen Fall." p. 45. But does this attest a Testimony Book? Is the specific combination of Ps. 2:7 and II Sam. 7:14 attested in tradition? See footnote 222.
222. In the early part of the second century B.C. in Sirach 47:11 a non-messianic allusion to the  $P^{\Pi}$  of Ps. 2:7 is combined with an allusion to II Sam. 7:12 (and Ps. 89:24b) (see ch. III). In the middle of the first century B.C. there is a messianic allusion to II Sam. 7:12 in P.S. 17:5,23 which is combined with a clear reference to Ps. 2:9 in P.S. 17:26 (see ch. III). 4QFlor which is probably to be dated between 50 A.D.-50 B.C. in 1:10-13 cites a messianically interpreted II Sam. 7:14 which is later linked (see ch. III on the unity of 4QFlor) to a citation of Ps. 2:1,2. Although pre-Christian Judaism does not provide an example of the specific linking of Ps. 2:7 and II Sam. 7:14, the linking of Ps. 2 to II Sam. 7 is well attested. (Schröger, see footnote 221, bases his statement on the Jewish evidence.) In Acts 13, however, an allusion to II Sam. 7:12 in vs. 23 is related to a full citation of Ps. 2:7 in vs. 33, and in this ch. (above) it was argued that the "promise" of vss. 23 and 33 refers to II Sam. 7:12-16 and that Ps. 2:7 functions as a midrashic restatement of II Sam. 7:14. This points to a direct linking of Ps. 2:7 and II Sam. 7:14. Thus it is possible that Hebrews took over a piece of primitive Christian tradition, i.e. the linking of Ps. 2:7 to II Sam. 7:14, which in turn took over a pre-Christian Jewish tradition, i.e. the linking of Ps. 2 to II Sam. 7. Of course, it is also possible that the author independently linked the two texts.
223. It is possible that the combination of II Sam. 7:14 and Ps. 110:1 (Heb. 1:5,13 — note that they are not directly linked as Ps. 2:7 and II Sam. 7:14) goes back to an earlier apostolic tradition (see Acts 2:30-35). To date there is no pre-Christian evidence for the linking of Ps. 110 with Ps. 2 or II Sam. 7.

224. Pointing to the fact that all but II Sam. 7:14 were taken from O.T. psalms and hymns, Kistemaker thinks that the liturgy of the early church may have affected the selection and form of the quotations in Heb. 1, pp. 57-60.
225. What is said here is tentative and the judgements and criticisms of others are based on the definition of terms outlined in ch. III.
226. Schröger, p. 38.
227. Hamerton-Kelly, p. 244; cf. Kistemaker, pp. 88-94.
228. Schröger, p. 258.
229. This does not explain the linking but only pushes the linking back into tradition.
230. L. Jacobs, "Hermeneutics", Judaica VIII, 367.
231. Perhaps these talmudic restrictions were not observed at all times and in all places.
232. In addition to the standard commentaries and introductions see especially the works of A. Vanhoye. His most extensive contribution to the analysis of the structure of Hebrews is to be found in La structure littéraire de l'Épître aux Hébreux (S.N. 1, Paris, Desclée de Brouwer, 1963). For further bibliography and an analysis of Heb. see J. Swetnam, "Form and Content in Hebrews 1-6", Bib. 53 (1972) 368-385 and "Form and Content in Hebrews 7-13", Bib. 55 (1974), 333-348.
233. "Now Moses was faithful in all God's house as a servant...but Christ was faithful over God's house as a son" (3:5,6).
234. This chiastic pattern has often been noted by commentators. Westcott, p. 119; Delitzsch, I, 237; von Soden, p. 43; Wickham, p. 33; Michel, p. 214; Kuss, p. 73; Bruce, Heb. p. 94; Montefiore, p. 96; Vanhoye, p. 110. Davidson (p. 110, n. 1) followed by G. Milligan, The Theology of the Epistle to the Hebrews (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1899), p. 105, n. 1. thinks that this chiastic pattern is artificial.
235. Commenting on Ps. 2:7, J. Calvin writes, "This evidence may seem to be a bit far-fetched, for granted that Christ is born of God the Father, He is not thereby ordained to be High Priest." The Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Hebrew and the First and Second Epistle of St. Peter, trans., W.B. Johnston and ed. D.W. and T.F. Torrance (C.C.S., Edinburgh, Oliver and Boyd, 1963), pp. 61, 62. Dods asks, "Why does the writer introduce the quotation from the 2nd Psalm at all? Why does he not directly prove his point by the quotation from the Messianic 110th Psalm?" IV, 287. See also G. Bornkamm, "Das Bekenntnis im Hebräerbrief", Studien zu Antike und Urchristentum: Gesammelte Aufsätze Band II München: Chr. Kaiser, 1959), p. 201; J. Gnailka, "Die Erwartung des messianischen Hohenpriesters in den Schriften von Qumran und im Neuen Testament", R. Qum. 2 (1959-60), 413.

236. E.g. see two citations jointed by καί (Heb. 1:10) or καὶ πάλιν (Heb. 1:5,13; 10:30).
237. G. Friedrich, "Beobachtungen zur messianischen Hohenpriestererwartung in den Synoptikern", Z.Th.K. 53, (1956), 265-311, esp. 280-283. cf. W. Grundmann, "Sohn Gottes", Z.N.W. 47 (1956), 113-133, esp. 115, who links sonship and priesthood on the basis of the Test. of Levi but is only concerned to apply this to the gospels. Schweizer notes that, "The concepts Son of God and High-priest, which are close already in Philo's view of the logos, are now conjoined in Hebrews." T.D.N.T. VIII, 388. But Williamson has shown that there is no real parallel between Philo and Hebrews on this point. pp. 417-431.
238. Friedrich, p. 280.
239. So. H. Conzelmann, An Outline of the Theology of the New Testament, trans. J. Bowden (London: S.C.M., 1969), p. 77.
240. cf. R.H. Fuller, The Foundations of New Testament Christology (London: Lutterworth, 1965), p. 33.
241. M. de Jonge, The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1953), p. 50.
242. De Jonge writes that, "Test. of Levi 18 and Test. of Judah 24 are, in their present form, clearly hymns which glorify Jesus Christ. In composing them the author of the Testaments undoubtedly made use of non-Christian material, but it seems impossible to separate the Christian and non-Christian elements in these chapters." p. 90.
243. F. Hahn, The Titles of Jesus in Christology, trans. H. Knight and G. Ogg (London: Lutterworth, 1969), p. 281.
244. Another possible source for the christology of Hebrews is Christian tradition. In support of this scholars have pointed to 1) the similarities between Heb. 5:7-10 and the synoptic tradition (e.g. Michel, p. 219; T. Lescow, "Jesus in Gethsemane bei Lukas und im Hebräerbrief", Z.N.W. 58 (1967), 215-239, but cf. E. Brandenburger, "Text und Vorlagen von Heb. 5:7-10", Nov. T. 11 (1969), 191-199; Schröger, pp. 120-127), 2) the similarity of the σοφάτω of Heb. 5:5 to John 8:54; 17:1 (but this raises the problem of the direction of influence and the meaning of σοφάτω in its various contexts), 3) the sudden introduction of Jesus as high priest in 2:17 appears to presuppose that Jesus was already known by the recipients to be a high priest (Gnilka, p. 418; A.J.B. Higgins, "The Priestly Messiah", N.T.S. 13 (1966-67), 235) and 4) the use of κρατεῖν and κατέχειν in Hebrews. V.H. Neufeld points out that, "The verbs κρατεῖν and κατέχειν in 4:14 and 10:23 respectively support the conclusion that ὁμολογία refers to a specific formula or confession of faith known to the author and his readers." The Earliest Christian Confessions (N.T.T.S. 5, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1963), p. 134 cf. p. 136. Hence it would appear that the author of Hebrews has drawn upon Christian tradition, but exactly what was the content of that tradition is debatable. Neufeld who starts from Hebrews itself in order to determine what was taken over asserts upon the basis of the three ὁμολογία passages (3:1; 4:14; 10:23)

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that the basic content was Jesus as Son of God. The title ἀρχιερεύς "does not constitute the basic homologia." p. 135. The problem can also be approached from the point of view of the Christian traditions reflected in the rest of the N.T. The Gospel of John presents Jesus as taking a central place in the nation's religious festivals (chs. 7-8) and as praying after the manner of a priestly mediator (ch. 17). Elsewhere Christ is spoken of as making intercession for his own (Rom. 8:24) and being the mediator between God and man (I Tim. 2:5). (cf. Longenecker Christology, pp. 114, 115; J.R. Schaefer, "The Relationship between Priestly and Servant Messianism in the Epistle to the Hebrews", C.B.Q. 30 (1968), 370-373.) Thus the author of Hebrews may have taken over from tradition the concept of Christ's priesthood as well as his sonship. It is possible that the tradition had even linked sonship and priesthood, but the author of Hebrews is to be credited with giving his own explanation of this linking. See further on the whole question Grässer, "Der Hebräerbrief 1938-1963", pp. 152-155, 190-197; S. Nomoto, "Herkunft und Struktur der Hohenpriesterverstellung im Hebräerbrief", Nov. T. 10 (1968), 10-25; H. Zimmermann, Die Hohenpriester-Christologie des Hebräerbrief (Paderborn: F. Schöningh, 1964).

245. Calvin says plainly that "his birth Ps. 2:7 includes His priesthood" p. 62. Westcott believes that Ps. 2:7 corresponds to the ἐδόξασεν (and Ps. 110:4 to the γενήθῃαι ἀρχιερέα) of vs. 5a. "This glory is not exactly defined, but the position of sonship includes every special honour, kingly or priestly." p. 124. Moffatt asserts that the author's use of Ps. 2:7 implies "that the position of divine Son carried with it, in some sense, the rôle of ἀρχιερεύς." p. 64. Alford, IV, 93; Dods, IV, 287f. According to G. Schrenk, "ἀρχιερεύς" T.D.N.T., III, 276, n. 53, this is also the view of F. Büchel, "Die Christologie des Hb." B.F.Th. 27 (1922), 15.
246. The linking of sonship and priesthood does not demonstrate that the author of Hebrews conceived of sonship as including priesthood.
247. There may be evidence that sonship was seen to include priesthood in some of the religious groups that made up the cultural and religious milieu of ancient Israel (see L. Sabourin, Priesthood: A Comparative Study (S.H.R., Supp. to Numen 25, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1973)), but there is no evidence that the writer to the Hebrews was influenced by any of the various priesthoods, except for the O.T. and Judaism, prior to Christianity.
248. Kistemaker states that, "With the combination of two psalm citations (Ps. 2:7, Ps. 110:4), the author to the Hebrews depicts Christ as king and as priest in the pericope 5:1-10." p. 116. Fitzmyer writes that, "Having first introduced Ps. 2:7 to establish the risen Jesus as the possessor of regal inheritance, he adds Ps. 110:4 to present this Kingly Son of God as one appointed also to an eternal priesthood." p. 225. Connected with



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this position is that of Lindars who believes that, "The argument of the Epistle at this point [5:5f] gains new importance from the messianic expectations of the Qumran Covenanters". p. 142. The Covenanters expected a secular and a priestly Messiah. Lindars asserts that, "The argument of Heb. 5:5f exactly corresponds to this situation....hence one man fulfils the roles of both Messiahs." A number of objections can be raised against this view. From the Qumran side of the question it cannot be definitely asserted that there was a two-Messiah expectation (for the extensive literature pro and con see ch. II, n. 24). From the Hebrews side 1) there is the lack of proof that Ps. 2:7 emphasizes the kingly messianic role of the Son (see next footnote). 2) Lindars' position requires that Ps. 2:7 and Ps. 110:4 be understood as co-ordinate citations (see below). 3) F.F. Bruce has observed that "...the argument of Hebrews is not specially directed against the Qumran expectation of a priestly Messiah. It is designed more generally to show that the whole of the order established in the wilderness days...was intended from the outset to be but temporary and was destined to be replaced by a priesthood of a different order." "To the Hebrews" or "To the Essenes", N.T.S. 9 (1963), 223. So too H. Braun, Qumran und das Neue Testament (2 vols., Tübingen, J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1966) II, 182. The publication of IIQMelch has not altered this position. De Jonge and van der Woude after their analysis of IIQMelch state that, "It is clear that the Melchizedek conception of Hebrews was influenced by notions which are also found in Qumran, but that there is no special connection with the expectation of the messianic high-priest found there" and that, "The anti-Aaronitic bias of the author of Hebrews need not be especially or exclusively directed against the tenets and expectations of the people from Qumran, nor does Hebrews try to prove that Jesus born of the tribe of Judah combined the two offices of the future high-priest and the future king as 'the Anointed one' par excellence." p. 322. Further see the survey article by I.W. Batdorf who thinks that the relationship of Hebrews to the Qumran is not nearly as close as some suppose. pp. 16-35.

249. There is no use of βασιλεύς in Hebrews (cf. 7:1,2 (see next footnote); 11:23,27) referring to Christ. βασιλεία is indirectly related to Christ via the quotation of Ps. 44:7 LXX in 1:8, but the emphasis does not fall upon βασιλεία. Other non-christological uses are found in 11:23; 12:28. De Jonge and van der Woude also note that, "His descent from Judah is only mentioned as a side-argument in Heb. 7:14." p. 322.
250. In Heb. 7:1-3 there is only one independent clause, ὁ Μελλισέδεκ ... μένει ἱερεὺς εἰς τὸ δεινέες. The rest of 7:1-3 is subordinate clauses used adjectivally. See Hering, p. 57; Milligan, pp. 113,114; Dods, IV, 308; Davidson, p. 132; Fitzmyer, pp. 232,233.
251. Some distinctions can be made within this group. 1) There are those who simply state that Ps. 2:7 is in some way a preparatory step leading to priesthood, but why this preparatory step is necessary is not stated. So J. Smith who declares that, "The first citation [Ps. 2:7] merely prepares the way for the second citation [Ps. 110:4] which alone provides the argument, the

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proof-text" for Christ's priesthood. A Priest For Ever: A Study of Typology and Eschatology in Hebrews (London: Sheed and Ward, 1969), p. 80; cf. Gnilka, p. 413, n. 84; Michel, p. 219; Kuss, p. 73; von Soden, p. 44; T. Hewitt, The Epistle to the Hebrews (London: Tyndale Press, 1960), p. 97. 2) Sabourin states that, "The author saw a connection between this title, 'the Son', and that of 'High Priest' as predicated of Jesus." p. 185. The link between these two titles is expressed thus: "We will only suggest, to conclude, that the author of Heb. must have thought of Christ as both 'Son' and 'High Priest' when he defined our Lord's disposition upon entering into the world as one of obedience." p. 208. 3) Plooiij, a disciple of Harris, asserts that sonship and priesthood were combined in the "Testimony Book" used by the author of Hebrews. pp. 36ff. His evidence, however, is not convincing. 4) There are those who have tried to explain why Jesus had to be Son in order to be the kind of priest required in Hebrews. Montefiore, who is the best exponent of this view, declares that, "Our author has to establish, in connection with Jesus' high priesthood, that he is Son of God, for only a high priest who is Son of God can have his rightful place at God's right hand. Only the Son can fittingly minister in the heavenly sanctuary and only the intercession of the Son can have full efficacy with God." p. 96. (cf. Davidson, p. 111; Milligan, p. 106). This may be correct, but he has not supported his case from Hebrews itself.

252. E.g. see Lövestam, p. 34.

253. Delitzsch I, 235; Davidson, p. 111; Vanhoye, p. 112.

254. J.H. Moulton, A Grammar of New Testament Greek (3 vols., T. and T. Clark, 1906-1963), I, 223.

255. For examples see Moulton, I, 223 and vol. III by N. Turner, pp. 150, 343; C.F.D. Moule Idiom-Book, p. 179; B.G. Mandilaras, The Verb in the Greek Non-Literary Papyri (Athens, Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sciences, 1973), pp. 920f. As an example of this in Hebrews Moulton cites Heb. 8:10; 10:16. Both of these are quotations from the LXX of Jer. 38:33. Here  $\delta\epsilon\delta\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$  is parallel to  $\epsilon\pi\iota\gamma\rho\alpha\psi\omega$  but this does not constitute indisputable evidence for the use of a participle as an indicative by the author of Hebrews. He may be following the A or Q text of the LXX which also makes  $\delta\epsilon\delta\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$  function as an indicative (cf. the B text which reads  $\delta\epsilon\delta\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$   $\delta\acute{\omega}\sigma\omega$ ).

256. G.B. Winer points out that the terse words of 5:4b (  $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha\ \kappa\alpha\lambda\omicron\upsilon\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma\ \upsilon\pi\omicron\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$  ) need to be filled out in the light of 5:4a. He suggests "  $\lambda\alpha\mu\beta\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\iota\ \tau\eta\upsilon\ \tau\epsilon\mu\eta\upsilon$  (  $\lambda\alpha\mu\beta\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\iota$  having, however, the meaning of receives )." A Treatise on the Grammar of New Testament Greek, trans. and ed. by W.F. Moulton (9th Eng. ed., Edinburgh, T. and T. Clark, 1882), p. 728.

257. The aorist indicative of  $\lambda\alpha\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega$  is used in Heb. 11:18 as an IF (  $\pi\rho\omicron\varsigma\ \delta\upsilon\ \epsilon\lambda\alpha\lambda\acute{\eta}\theta\eta\ \omicron\tau\iota$  ).



258. Contra Spicq who thinks that ὁ λαλήσας corresponds to καλούμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ . II, 110. But if this were the case, there would be the need to supply an IF for Ps. 2:7, i.e. "he who spoke (in the sense of 'called') to him said (εἶπεν)." .
259. Delitzsch, I, 235; Moffatt, p. 64; Dods, IV, 287; Spicq, II, 110. This is implied in Montefiore's translation of 5:5b: "but was appointed by One who said to him". p. 96, so too the R.S.V. Westcott's brief statement on 5:5b is that "but His Father glorified Him, that He should be made High-priest, even He that spake unto him...." p. 124; cf. also Nairne, p. 60.
260. Heb. 3:6,7: "And we are his house if we hold fast our confidence and pride in our hope. Therefore (οὖν), as (καθώς) the Holy Spirit says, 'Today....' (Ps. 95:7-11); Heb. 4:3: "For we who have believed enter that rest, as (καθώς) he has said, 'As....' (Ps. 95:11); Heb. 4:7 "Again he sets a certain day, 'Today,'... as (καθώς) he said before, 'Today...' (Ps. 95:7,8; writer's translation). The same pattern is reflected elsewhere in the N.T. See Turner, p. 320.
261. 1) The use of καί after καθώς in 5:6 does not negate the possibility of recognizing this pattern here. a) It is possible that the καί should be taken with ἐν ἑτέρῳ rather than καθώς. This is the case in Acts 13:35. b) Evidence for the use of καθώς καί in such a pattern can be found in I Cor. 14:34 ("For they are not permitted to speak, but should be subordinate, as even (καθώς καὶ) the law says"). Perhaps Eph. 4:14 can also be cited as evidence. See Vanhoye, p. 112. 2) The (καὶ) ἐν ἑτέρῳ λέγει of 5:6 does not necessarily mean that the second scripture text is co-ordinate to the first. It may simply indicate that another text is being cited. In the only other N.T. use of καὶ ἐν ἑτέρῳ λέγει (Acts 13:35) the second scripture (Ps. 16:10) is not co-ordinate to the first (Is. 55:3), but like the pattern suggested for Heb. 5:5,6 the second citation validates the proposition with which the first citation is connected. See above in this chapter for an exegesis of Acts 13:33ff. cf. Barnabas 15:2; I Clement 8:4; 29:3 where two co-ordinate citations are joined by καὶ ἐν ἑτέρῳ λέγει.
262. If one understood λαλήσας as an indicative and καθώς as connecting a proposition to its attestation, Ps. 110:4 would be attesting Ps. 2:7. But this is impossible.
263. Some of those who hold a co-ordinate view of Ps. 2:7 and Ps. 110:4 have stated that Ps. 2:7 contributes a preparatory step to priesthood, but their co-ordinate view of Ps. 2:7 and Ps. 110:4 does not provide a solid grammatical base for their position.
264. See footnote 250.

265. If ἀφωμοιωμένος is taken as an adverbial causative participle modifying μένει, then the connection between sonship and priesthood is direct. On the other hand, if ἀφωμοιωμένος is understood as an attributive participle modifying ὁ Μελχισέδεκ, the connection is indirect. Alford (IV, 129) and Dod (IV, 308) decide in favour of the latter. Either way the explanation for the connection remains the same. cf. Davidson, p. 132.
266. The exact force of εἰς τὸ διηνεκές has been much debated. Some translate it "continually", i.e. uninterruptedly (Delitzsch, I, 335; Dods, IV, 308; Spicq, II, 184; Westcott, p. 176). Others render it "for ever" (Moffatt, p. 93; Montefiore, pp. 119, 120; Bruce Heb. p. 133, n. 7; Michel, p. 263). These two meanings are illustrated in Hebrews itself: in 10:1 it appears to mean "continually", but in 10:12, 14 "for ever" suits the context. The context of 7:3 ("having neither beginning of days nor end of life") emphasizes duration rather than lack of interruption.
267. That the author of Hebrews conceives of the Son as the pre-existent and eternal is clear from 1:2, 11, 12; 7:3; 13:8. See esp. Hammerton-Kelly, pp. 243-258. cf. footnote 185.
268. That τετελειωμένον is to be taken with υἱὸν and not εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, is required because its parallel, ἔχοντας ἀσθένειαν, is to be taken with ἀνθρώπους. So Montefiore, p. 131. For the opposite view see Alford, IV, 145.
269. In the light of Heb. 7:21, ὁ λόγος τῆς ὀρκωμοσίας is to be understood as a description of (not an allusion to) Ps. 110:4.
270. The κατὰ τὴν τάξιν Μελχισέδεκ of 5:10 clearly indicates that immediately after 5:1-10 the author wishes to expound this new idea. But he is diverted from his exposition to an exhortation (5:11 - 6:20) because the recipients have "become dull of hearing" (5:11). In 6:20 the author repeats κατὰ τὴν τάξιν Μελχισέδεκ and thus signals that he is now ready to resume his train of thought.
271. Westcott, p. 200; Wickham, p. 54; Schröger, p. 38; Lindars, p. 140; Bruce, Heb., p. 160 n. 98; Hewitt, pp. 127, 128; Schweizer, T.D.N.T. VIII, 388; Sabourin, p. 207.
272. 1) The "sonship" is directly affirmed by Ps. 2:7 itself, but the "eternal" nature of this sonship comes from the sonship christology of Hebrews. That the author of Hebrews understood the υἱὸς of Ps. 2:7 in 5:5 as the eternal Son is made clear from the context (4:14-7:28, esp. 7:3, 28). 2) Although it is correct that σήμερον in Philo, De Fuga et Inventione 58 (Loeb V, 40, 41), means "eternal", it is unlikely that in Hebrews this unusual sense of σήμερον is being employed. And as Westcott has noted the "doctrine of the eternal generation of the Son" as summed up by Origen "appears to be foreign to the context" of Hebrews. p. 21. 3) The contribution of Ps. 2:7 in Heb. 5:5, i.e. the eternal sonship of Jesus, is slightly different from its contribution in Heb. 1:5, i.e. sonship. cf. Robinson, p. 59.

273. After arriving at this position, the writer discovered that G. Schrenk had already approximated it but without giving any exegetical support. He states that, "If the supreme value of the personal representation of cultic truth is used to show that the ancient cultus is fulfilled and transcended in Christ, this is possible only because of the truth of the Son augments and controls the truth of the High-priest. The basic concept, which carries with it the predicate of eternity, is always the main truth in the background....And it is just because the saying concerning the Son gives to the saying concerning the High-priest its decisive impress and eternal character (cf. Heb. 5:5f...) that the latter acquires its force."  
"ἀρχιερεὺς", T.D.N.T., III, 276.
274. Montefiore, p. 97.
275. Lindars, p. 140; cf. footnote 175 of this chapter; Delitzsch thinks in terms of resurrection and exaltation. I, 236.
276. Dupont, "FILIUS MEUS ES TU", pp. 538ff; Bruce, *Heb.*, p. 94; Lövestam, pp. 31ff; Hahn, p. 287; Fuller, p. 187; Lohfink, pp. 92,93; Hay, p. 287.
277. See footnote 178.
278. There is a long history of debate on the question, When did Christ become high priest? E.g. see Davidson, pp. 146-154; Milligan, pp. 127-133; and most recently Smith who in his discussion of Heb. 8:4 concludes that Christ's death was a priestly act. pp. 94-103. Lövestam (pp. 31-37) and Lohfink (p. 92) base their main argument for connecting Ps. 110:4, i.e. the appointment to be priest, to the exaltation upon the observation that *προσάγορεύθεις* (5:10) is synchronous with *τελειωθεις* (5:9). This is probably correct, but is it certain that *τελειωθεις* refers to the exaltation of Christ (see Alford, IV, 98 (resurrection); Westcott, p. 131; Bruce, *Heb.*, p. 105; Michel, p. 224; Hewitt, p. 98) rather than his death? (see Nairne, p. 60; Dods, IV, 290; Montefiore, p. 100; cf. Bruce, *Heb.*, p. 105, n. 70).
279. Lövestam, who believes that Ps. 2:7 is co-ordinate with Ps. 110:4 (p. 34), states that the "Son" of Heb. 7:28 is derived from Ps. 2:7 and that "perfected" (*τετελειωμένον*) is to be related to the exaltation. This "Son perfected in eternity" (7:28) shows that Ps. 2:7 in Heb. 5:5 is to be connected with the exaltation (p. 36). For the sake of argument, it will be accepted that "perfected" refers to exaltation (cf. footnote 278), but it does not follow that the time of the perfection of the Son in 7:28 indicates the time of the appointment to sonship in Heb. 5:5.
280. See footnote 185.
281. Schröger, p. 260, cf. pp. 38,115,116.
282. Schröger does label Ps. 2:7 a "Beweis". pp. 115,116.
283. Schröger, p. 119.

284. Vanhoye states that, "Sa présence en cet endroit n'est due au hasard: nous avons montré au contraire qu'elle est intentionnelle. L'Épître aux Hébreux s'avère par là 'christocentrique' au sens littéral du terme. Et ce trait extérieur correspond à une réalité profonde: la doctrine exposée dans l'Épître est essentiellement une christologie." pp. 237,238.
285. Davidson states that, "The Sonship of Christ is the fundamental idea of the Epistle. It is this relation to God that enables Him to be the Author of salvation to men." p. 79; cf. Milligan, pp. 73,77,78; Kistemaker, pp. 96f; Vanhoye, p. 238.
286. Neufeld, pp. 134ff.
287. On the relationship of Son to other titles see Neufeld, pp. 134ff.
288. II Sam. 7:14 in Heb. 1:5 is linked to Ps. 2:7 and attests Christ's sonship, but II Sam. 7:14 is placed after Ps. 2:7 in 1:5 and completely omitted in 5:5. The citations in Heb. 1:6-13 do not attest Christ's sonship.
289. If one uses frequency as the main criteria for judging importance rather than the contribution and location of the testimonium in the total argument and structure of the Epistle, Ps. 110 seems to be the most important testimonium. For example see Bruce who asserts that, "Ps. 110 is the key text of this epistle...." Heb., p. 8; W. Manson states that, "The survey we have now concluded will make plain the extent to which the Epistle to the Hebrews is dominated by one great O.T. oracle — Ps. 110. Here, in verses 1 and 4 combined, we have, as far as O.T. prophecy can provide it, the charter-document of the writer's Christology...." The Epistle to the Hebrews (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1951), p. 117. Lindars declares that, "It is not too much to say that the entire Christology of this Epistle stems from the study of this [110] psalm." p. 51. G.W. Buchanan states that, "The document entitled 'To the Hebrews' is a homiletical midrash based on Ps. 110." To the Hebrews (Anc.B., Garden City, N.Y., Doubleday, 1972), p. xix.
290. Kistemaker, in his dissertation on the Psalm citations in Hebrews, comes to the conclusion that "....in short, it may be asserted that the author's argument in the Epistle falls into four parts, each having a psalm citation as basis; and that all other scriptural references are supplementary to the four psalm citations out of Pss. 8,95,110 and 40. The passages out of these psalms control the drift of the argument in the Epistle to the Hebrews." p. 101. Again he says that, "These four.... are of such universality that all other quotations of any importance are subservient to them." p. 130. Yet he recognizes the centrality of the sonship of Christ in Hebrews. p. 96. If it is correct that Ps. 2:7 is the fundamental testimonium in Hebrews, then Kistemaker's thesis stands in need of substantial revision.



291. For a bibliography of the literature on the baptism and transfiguration see respectively F. Lentzen-Deis, Die Taufe Jesu nach den Synoptikern: Literarkritische und gattungsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen (F.T.S. 4, Frankfurt, J. Knecht, 1970), and J.M. Nützel, Die Verklärungserzählung im Markusevangelium: Eine redaktionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung (Forschung zur Bibel 6, Würzburg, Echter, 1973).
292. Bousset, p. 97, n. 70. He goes on to postulate that, "The changing of  $\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\varsigma$  into  $\nu\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma$  in the baptismal account in Mark then would signify the first step in the development which reached its culmination in the introduction of the total wording of Ps. 2:7."
293. Cullmann, Christology, p. 66.
294. For the most recent presentation see J. Jeremias New Testament Theology, trans. J. Bowden (London: S.C.M., 1971), I, 51ff.
295. Fuller, pp. 169,170; C. Maurer, "Knecht Gottes und Sohn Gottes im Passionsbericht des Markusevangeliums", Z.Th.K. 50(1953), 30ff; Hahn, pp. 338,339; A. Suhl, Die Funktion der alttestamentlichen Zitate und Anspielungen in Markusevangelium Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn, 1965), p. 102; D. Flusser, Jesus, trans. R. Walls (New York: Herder and Herder, 1969), p. 29; With certain qualifications, Lindars, pp. 139, 140.
296. For examples of those opposed to this position see Lovestam, pp. 94ff; H. Weinacht, Die Menschwerdung des Sohnes Gottes im Markusevangelium: Studien zur Christologie des Markusevangeliums (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1972), p. 51, n. 21; H.J.B. Higgins, "Some Aspects of New Testament Christology", Promise and Fulfilment, ed. F.F. Bruce (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1963), pp. 133,134; C.E.B. Cranfield, The Gospel According to St. Mark (Cambridge: University Press, 1959), pp. 54,55; Gundry, pp. 29,30.
297. I.H. Marshall, "Son of God or Servant of Yahweh? — A Reconsideration of Mark 1:11", N.T.S. 15 (1968-69), 326-336.
298. Hahn, p. 339; Cullmann likewise argues that, "We must of course reckon with the possibility that the thought of Ps. 2:7... suggested itself as a parallel, and facilitated the translation  $\nu\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma$  ." p. 66; Lindars, p. 140; Dupont, "FILIUS MEUS ES TU", p. 526.
299. After noting that the "Western" variant does "not appear in the Old Syriac (or any Syriac version) or in E, the Old African MS., or Irenaeus or Cyprian or Cop.<sup>sa</sup>.", C.S.C. Williams concludes that "to call it 'Western' seems to be rather a misnomer." Alterations to the Text of the Synoptic Gospels and Acts (Oxford: Blackwell, 1951), p. 47.
300. E.g. W. Grundmann, Das Evangelium nach Lukas (Th.H.K., 2nd ed., Berlin, Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1964), pp. 106,107; A.R.C. Leany, A Commentary on the Gospel According to St. Luke (London: A. and C. Black, 1958), pp. 110,111; Reese, pp. 193-195. For a more extensive list see J. Kosnetter, Die Taufe Jesu:

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- Exegetische und religionsgeschichtliche Studien (Wien; Mayer, 1936), pp. 154, 155. H. Schürmann, Das Lukasevangelium (H.Th.K. III/1, Freiburg, Herder, 1969), p. 193, n. 38 and especially the survey by F. Lentzen-Deis, "Ps. 2:7, ein Motiv früher 'hellenistischer' Christology?", Th.Ph., 44 (1969), 344-346.
301. See Greek New Testament of the United Bible Societies, 2nd ed., pp. xxvi - xxviii. (Abb. hereafter as U.B.S.)
302. U.B.S., p. xxx.
303. Chapter 11 is widely regarded as a fragment of another work and perhaps should be dated later. O.D.C.C. p. 405.
304. Translation by K. Lake in the Loeb ed.
305. K. Lake thinks that the σήμερον "suggests that the homily belongs to a feast of the Nativity." Loeb XXV, II, 374, n. 2; cf. Dupont, "FILIUS MEUS ES TU", p. 538, n. 21.
306. A comparison of the Greek text of the G.E. with the synoptic accounts reveals that the G.E. is mainly dependent upon Mt.:  
ἐβαπτίσθη ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰωάννου —  
βαπτισθῆναι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ (Mt. 3:13),  
(ἀνῆλθεν) ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος — (ἀνεβῆ)  
ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος (Mt. 3:16), (ἡνοίγησαν)  
οἱ οὐρανοὶ — (ἠνεώχθησαν) οἱ οὐρανοὶ  
(Mt. 3:16); φωνὴ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ  
λέγουσα — φωνὴ ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν  
(οὐρανοῦ in Lk. 3:22) λέγουσα (Mt. 3:17),  
οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός (ἐφ'  
ὃν) ἠυδόκησα — οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱός  
μου ὁ ἀγαπητός (ἐν ᾧ) εὐδόκησα (Mt.  
 3:17), "John...said: I beseech thee, Lord, baptize thou me, but  
 he prevented him and said" - cf. "John would have prevented him,  
 saying, 'I need to be baptized by you'" (Mt. 3:14), ἄφες  
(ὅτι) οὕτως ἐστὶ πρέπον πληρωθῆναι  
πάντα — ἄφες (ἄρτι) οὕτως (γὰρ)  
πρέπον ἐστὶν ἡμῖν πληρῶσαι πάσχαν  
(δικαιοσύνην) (Mt. 3:15).
307. Leaving to one side the question of the content of the voice  
 from heaven, there are two or perhaps three places where G.E.  
 is clearly in contact with the Lukan account of the baptism.  
(εἶδεν) τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον — (εἶδεν,  
Mt. 3:16) τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον (Lk. 3:22),  
(ἐν) εἶδει περιστερᾶς — εἶδει (ὡς)  
περιστερὰν (Lk. 3:22) and φωνὴ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ  
— φωνὴν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ (Lk. 3:22).
308. καὶ εὐθὺς, περιέλαμψε τὸν τόπον φῶς  
μέγα. ὃν ἰδὼν, φησὶν, ὁ Ἰωάννης λέγει.  
αὐτῷ σὺ τίς εἶ, κύριε — cf. "and suddenly  
 a light (φῶς) from heaven flashed about him. And he fell to  
 the ground and heard a voice saying to him 'Saul, Saul, why do  
 you persecute me?' And he said, 'Who are you, Lord?' (τίς



308. (Contd.)

εἰ, κύριε )", (Acts 9:3-5). It is obvious that the voice from heaven in Paul's experience has influenced the baptism account for the author of the G.E.

309. There is possibly one point of contact between G.E. and Mk: ( εἰσεληθούσης ) εἰς αὐτόν — (καταβαίνον ) εἰς αὐτόν (Mk. 1:10 B D fam.<sup>13</sup> 543 837 but ἐπ' αὐτόν in X A L P W Γ Δ Θ Π Ξ Φ). This one preposition is not enough evidence to establish dependence upon Mk.
310. For the Greek text see Aland, Synopsis, p. 27.
311. In Dial. 88 he says expressly, "There came at the same instant from the heavens a voice, which was uttered also by David when he spoke, personating Christ..." (A.N.F. I, 244). Also at the close of this account he repeats Ps. 2:7.
312. See B.C. I, 399, n. 2.
313. See E.F. Osborn, Justin Martyr (B.H.Th. 47, Tübingen, J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1973), pp. 120-138; A.J. Bellinzoni, The Savings of Jesus in the Writings of Justin Martyr (Supp. to Nov. T. 17, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1967), p. 140.
314. The τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον of Dial. 88, 8 could likewise be linked to τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον of G.E. which in turn goes back to Lk. 3:22.
315. Osborn points out that "the connection of light with baptism [understanding πυρ as a light] is almost universal, one of the most common names for the rite being φωτισμός." p. 134.
316. 1) Justin may be in direct literary dependence upon the G.E., but this sort of dependence is very difficult to show. 2) Due to the uncertainty about the date of the G.E., it might be thought that the influence went the other direction. But this is unlikely in light of the fact that the G.E. would have had to contract the Ps. 2:7 citation. 3) In Dial. 103, 6 Justin mentions the "memoirs of the apostles" ( ἐν τοῖς ἀποκνημονεύμασι τῶν ἀποστόλων ) in connection with the baptism. But the syntax of the text shows that the memoirs are connected with the temptation and not the voice from heaven.
317. Some might object that such an expansion of the text would tend toward an "adoptionist" position which Justin did not hold. But Lentzen-Deis argues that Justin belonged to an early Jewish Christian milieu in which Ps. 2:7 would not be considered as adoptionistic. "Ps. 2:7, ein Motiv früher 'hellenistischer' Christology?", pp. 351ff.

318. Homily on Luke XXXI, 4 (G.C.S., 2nd ed., IX, 177), Selecta in Psalmos (P.G. XII, 1100) cites vs. 7 at the opening of the comments on Ps. 2 in connection with Acts 13:33 and the Ps. 1 or 2 problem. There is no comment on vs. 7 in the appropriate place in the commentary. Homily on Matthew I, 4 (G.C.S. XII, 243,244; Homily on Ezekiel VI, 3 (G.C.S. VIII, 381); Commentary on John I, 32 and XIII, 1 (G.C.S. IV, 37 and 227).
319. R.H. Connolly, Didascalia Apostolorum: The Syriac Version Translated and Accompanied by the Verona Latin Fragments (Oxford: University Press, 1929), p. 93.
320. Hilary does know the voice from heaven in the form found in Mt. 3:17 (De Trinitate VI, 23, 27), but this does not prove that he took Ps. 2:7 from Lk. 3:22.
321. Athanasius' other citations of Ps. 2:7 are not connected with the baptism. See Oratio IV Contra Arianos II, 21,1; IV, 7, 14 (P.G. XXVI, 268, 504) and Controversy with the Arians I, 3, 11.
322. For the Greek text see P.A. de Lagarde, Constitutiones Apostolorum (Leipzig: Teubner, 1862), p. 60.
323. Elsewhere in this work he shows his awareness of Matthew 3:17, see II, 94, cf. 95 (C.C.L. XIV, 75).
324. Or nine if one counts Hilary as attesting a Lk. 3:22 source for Ps. 2:7.
325. Gundry, p. 65. See also Jeremias, N.T. Theology, I, 53, n. 2.
326. Rese (p. 195) calls attention to the fact that Lk. 3:4-6 expands the Is. 40:3 quotation found in Mk. 1:3 and Mt. 3:3 to include Is. 40:4,5, but this is not parallel to what Rese alleges to have taken place in Lk. 3:22, i.e. the conversion of an allusion ("you are my only Son" Mk. 1:11) into an explicit citation (Ps. 2:7 in Lk. 3:22).
327. For a statement of other arguments plus rebuttal see Kosnetter, pp. 150-168.
328. B.H. Streeter, The Four Gospels (2nd ed., London, Macmillan, 1930), p. 143.
329. Lentzen-Deis, "Ps. 2:7, ein Motiv früher 'hellenistischer' Christologie?", pp. 349ff.
330. Oratio IV Contra Arianos II, 23; II, 57; IV, 24 (W. Bright, The Orations of St. Athanasius Against the Arians (Oxford: University Press, 1873), pp. 92,127,241).
331. C.K. Barrett, The Holy Spirit and the Gospel Tradition (London: S.P.C.K., 1947), p. 40, n. 4.
332. Gundry points out that D's addition of πρὸς αὐτόν after λέγουσα in Mt. 3:17 may indicate a working over of the text in connection with Ps. 2:7 (κύριος εἶπεν πρὸς με). p. 29, n. 4.

333. E.g. Gundry, p. 31; Lentzen-Deis, Die Taufe, pp. 191,192; but cf. M. Hooker, Jesus and the Servant, (London: S.P.C.K., 1959), pp. 71,72.
334. Note the assimilation to the LXX of Is. 42:1 in the change of εἰς αὐτόν (Mk. 1:10) to ἐπ' αὐτόν (Mt. 3:16, Lk. 3:22).
335. There is no express bestowal of the Spirit in Ps. 2.
336. Is. 61 is not, strictly speaking, a "Servant Song"; but it is probable that the figures from Is. 42 and 61 were connected in first century A.D. Palestine. See R.T. France, "The Servant of the Lord in the Teaching of Jesus", Tyn.B. 19 (1968), 43, n. 84.
337. E.g. W.L. Lane commenting on Mark 1:11 states that, "It is common to find in the pronouncement a reflection of Ps. 2:7 and Is. 42:1." Commentary on the Gospel of Mark (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1974), p. 57. Those who see in the baptism voice a reference to Ps. 2:7 usually posit an allusion to Ps. 2:7 in the voice from the cloud at the transfiguration. If it cannot be established that there is an allusion to Ps. 2:7 at the baptism, it follows that there is none at the transfiguration where σὺ εἶ becomes οὗτός ἐστιν. For a survey of the literature on the transfiguration see Nützel who rejects an allusion to Ps. 2:7 in the transfiguration voice. p. 146.
338. Dodd, According to the Scriptures, p. 31.
339. See K. Stendahl (The School of St. Matthew (A.S.N.U., 20, Uppsala, 1954), p. 46) limits his work to explicit quotations. E.E. Ellis limits his work to quotations. Paul's Use of the Old Testament (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1957), p. 11. Suhl and Holtz offer no criteria. Rese relies on Aland and Dittmar, p. 36. G. Reim (Studien zum alttestamentlichen Hintergrund des Johannesevangelium (M.S.S.N.T.S. 22, Cambridge: University Press, 1974), p. 3) limits his study to quotations. Hay restricts his work to "direct quotations and 'definite allusions'". The latter term will usually indicate references to a position at the right hand of God or to a priest of Melchizedek's order." p. 17.
340. Schröger, p. 201.
341. Gundry, pp. 4,5. R.T. France declares that, "There is no rule of thumb by which intentional allusions can be detected." His own procedure has been to deal with each allusion on its own. Jesus and the Old Testament (London: Tyndale Press, 1971), p. 15.
342. For example, the distinctive Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ (Rev. 11:15; 12:10) undoubtedly comes from Ps. 2:2 as the context makes clear (Rev. 12:5); but terms such as Χριστός and υἱός are not counted as allusions to Ps. 2 unless something in their context (cf. Heb. 1:2,5) clearly points to Ps. 2.
343. Lövestam, p. 94.
344. Lövestam, p. 96; Plooi, p. 249; Gundry, pp. 30,31; E. Schweizer T.D.N.T., VIII, 368.

345. Marshall, "Son of God or Servant of Yahweh?", pp. 333, 334.
346. Lövestam, p. 96.
347. Lövestam, pp. 95, 96.
348. Jewish Encyclopedia, IX, 250.
349. M.-A. Chevallier has shown that Ps. 2 and Is. 11, but not Ps. 2:7 and Is. 42:1, were linked in pre-Christian Jewish tradition. L'esprit et le messie; dans le bas-judaïsme et le Nouveau Testament (Paris: Universitaires de France, 1958). See ch. II of this thesis for an overview of pre-Christian traditions associated with Ps. 2.
350. Lövestam, p. 97.
351. Ps. 2:7 is cited in Heb. 1:5 as the key text to show that Jesus is Son.
352. See Gal. 3,4; Rom. 4.
353. It is probably correct that the early church connected the death of Christ with Ps. 2:1,2; but there is no evidence that the Son as heir (Ps. 2:7,8) was also connected to the death of Christ. See ch. III.
354. Cranfield, p. 55. For a different explanation of the word order see Gundry. p. 30, n. 2.
355. Actually σὺ εἶ is a very natural part of any declaration by one party about another party. See Mk. 3:11; 8:29; 14:61; 15:2; Mt. 11:3; 14:28; 16:18; 26:63; 27:11; Lk. 7:19,20; 22:67, 70; 23:3,37,39; John 1:42,49; 3:10; 10:24; 11:27; 18:33.
356. C.H. Turner writes that, "I should hesitate to ascribe the Marcan phrase to the Psalm [2:7] as its source, if only because while ὁ ἀγαπητός is common to Mk.1:11 and 9:7, the σὺ εἶ of the Baptism becomes οὗτός ἐστιν at the Transfiguration." "Ο ΥΙΟΣ ΜΟΥ Ο ΑΓΑΠΗΤΟΣ", J.Th.S. 27 (1926), 123.
357. P.G. Bretscher, "Exodus 4:22-23 and the Voice from Heaven", J.B.L. 87 (1968), 301-311.
358. The Gospel of the Hebrews (Aland, Synopsis, p. 27; Henneck, I, 163,164) evidences this kind of understanding of the baptism voice. "And it came to pass when the Lord was come up out of the water, the whole fount of the Holy Spirit descended upon him and rested on him and said to him: My Son (Fili mi) in all the prophets was I waiting for thee that thou shouldest come and I might rest in thee. For thou art my rest; thou art my first-begotten Son (filius meus primogenitus) that reignest for ever."
359. Bretscher needs to demonstrate that πρωτότοκος was used in pre-Christian Judaism in the sense of "only", not just "beloved". His examples from "The Words of the Heavenly Light



## 359. (Contd.)

(D.S.S.), II Baruch 5:1; 21:21 do not afford evidence that πρωτότοκος was used in the sense of "only". The example from II Esdras 6:18 uses "primogenitus" in a series of words ("unigenitum, aemulatorem, carissimum"), but this does not indicate that "primogenitus" had one or all of the meanings of the following words. The same can be said of P.S. 18:4 ( ὡς υἱὸν πρωτότοκον μονογενῆ ). What is needed is a passage where the terms are parallel. Bretscher mentions P.S. 13:8 which fits into this category ( ὡς υἱὸν ἀγαπήσεως, is parallel to ὡς πρωτότοκου ), but ἀγάπησις means "affection" not "only".

360. Gundry thinks that it is possible that the Isaiah quotation in Mt. 12:18-21 has been modified by Matthew in light of the baptism (vs. 18), the Sermon on the Mount (vs. 19), the healing ministry (vs. 20) and the incident concerning the Gentile centurion (vs. 21). p. 112, n. 4.

361. One of the first scholars to stress the position is C.H. Turner who comments that "in Gen. 22 we have, thrice repeated, the exact counterpart of the Marcan phrase [1:11] so far as it is common to both occasions. No story in the O.T. is more susceptible of a Christian application: we might have been sure that it would have formed part of any Christian collection of Testimonia...." p. 123. After an analysis of the pre-Christian Jewish association of the Akedah and Servant motifs, G. Vermes states that the baptism voice borrowed words from Gen. 22:16 and Is. 42:1. He forcefully declares that "most commentators make an entirely useless and inconclusive effort to show that the Mark formula is either based on Ps. 2:7 and Isaiah 42, or that Isaiah 42 alone underlies the quotation....It is enough to re-read one or other of the recent examples of such unrewarding attempts to realise the straightforwardness and extreme simplicity of the interpretation proposed here." Scripture and Tradition in Judaism (St.P.B. 4, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1961), p. 222. See also A. Richardson An Introduction to the Theology of the New Testament (London: S.C.M., 1958), pp. 180, 228; W. Dekker "De 'geliefde Zoon' in de synoptische Evangelien", Ned.Th.T. 16 (1961-62), 94-106; R. le Déaut, La nuit pascale (An.Bib. 22, Rome, Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1963), pp. 133-213, esp. p. 204; E. Best, The Temptation and the Passion: The Marcan Soteriology (M.S.S.N.T.S. 2, Cambridge, University Press, 1965), pp. 169ff; J.E. Wood, "Isaac Typology in the New Testament", N.T.S. 14 (1967-68), 583-589, esp. 586, 587; A. Gaboury, "Deux fils uniques: Isaac et Jésus connexions vétéro-testamentaires de Mc 1, 11 (et parallèles)", Studia Evangelica IV = T.U. 102 (1968), 198-204. Many commentaries have also noted that ἀγαπήσις has connections with Gen. 22. Some of these scholars see influence from both Gen. 22 and Ps. 2:7.

362. J.A. Robinson argues that Matthew and Luke understood ἀγαπητός of Mk. 1:11 as a title, "The Beloved". But Robinson admits that C.H. Turner "makes a strong case for interpreting ἀγαπητός as 'only' in the three passages of St. Mark." Thus Robinson does not assert that in Mark ἀγαπητός is to be translated as "the Beloved". St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians (2nd ed., London, Macmillan, 1904), pp. 229-233, esp. p. 233, n. 1.
363. See G.D. Kilpatrick, "The Order of Some Noun and Adjective Phrases", *Nov. Test.* 5 (1962), 111-114.
364. See C.H. Turner, pp. 113-129; Kilpatrick, p. 112, n. 1; H.B. Swete, The Gospel According to St. Mark (London: Macmillan, 1898), pp. 9, 253; V. Taylor, The Gospel According to St. Mark (London: Macmillan, 1952), p. 475; Cranfield, p. 365; Lentzen-Deis, Die Taufe, p. 188. The crux of the argument is that ἔτι ἓνα ἔχειν, υἱὸν ἀγαπητόν (Mk. 12:6) clearly means "He still had one, an only son" (Taylor, p. 475) and that Mk. 12:6 is linked to and thus gives a clue to Mark's understanding of ἀγαπητός in Mk. 1:11.
365. For example note the shift from μου to αὐτοῦ in Mt. 27:35 (Ps. 21:19 LXX), from αὐτοῦ to αὐτῶν in Rom. 3:8 (Ps. 35:2 LXX), from αὐτοῦς to ὑμᾶς in Rom. 10:19 (Deut. 32:21), from ὑμῖν to αὐτῶν and ὑμεῖς to αὐτοῖς in II Cor. 6:16 (Lev. 26:12), from αὐτῶ to ὑμῖν and αὐτός to ὑμεῖς in II Cor. 6:18 (II Kings 7:14).
366. "In that hour a voice came forth from the heaven and said: Come, see two singular (persons) which are in my world, one sacrifices and the other is sacrificed; he who sacrifices does not falter and he who is sacrificed stretches forth his neck." A.D. Macho, Neophyti I (Madrid, 1968), I, 127, 551. For a parallel see M. Black's translation of Jerusalem Targum II on Lev. 22:27 in "The Messiah in the Testament of Levi XVIII", *E.T.* 61 (1950), 158.
367. See Lentzen-Deis, Die Taufe, pp. 196-198.
368. Vermes, p. 204.
369. See also Acts 3:25 where Gen. 22:18, which is associated with the Akedah, is combined with Jesus, τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ.
370. In his study of Markan soteriology Best concludes that "We may view him in Mark's picture as an only (1:11; 9:7) and an obedient (14:32ff) son who goes willingly to his death like Isaac, and whose death is a sacrifice for the sins of men", and "Thus taking Jesus to be the new Isaac we find that the theme of sonship is linked to the sacrifice of the Cross...." pp. 172, 173.
371. See Best, pp. 170, 171; Wood, pp. 583-589.
372. The earliest is Barnabas 7:3. Further see J. Daniélou, "La typologie d'Isaac dans le christianisme primitif", *Bib.* 28 (1947), 363-393.



373. See fn. 242 on the Christian redaction of the Test. of Levi.
374. On the crucial phrase see M. Black, "The Messiah of the Testament of Levi XVIII", E.T. 60 (1949), 321f; 61 (1950) 157f and J.R. Porter E.T. 61 (1949), 90f.
375. Charles, Ap. and Ps., II, 314. Apparently the Test. of Levi is the only early Christian work that preserves the association of Gen. 22 with the baptism of Jesus. Perhaps the early association of Ps. 2:7 with the baptism (G.E.) rapidly gained ascendancy and displaced the association with Gen. 22. On the baptism of Jesus in the first two centuries and the interpretation of Gen. 22 unto the Reformation period see respectively D.A. Bertrand, Le baptême de Jésus (B.G.B.E. 14, Tübingen, J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1973) and D. Lerch, Isaak Opferung christlich gedeutet: Eine auslegungsgeschichtliche Untersuchung (B.H.Th. 12, Tübingen, J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1950. Lerch omits the Test. of Levi from his discussion.
376. The most recent full-length study on an aspect of the baptism of Jesus, i.e. Lentzen-Deis, Die Taufe, likewise rejects direct influence from Ex. 4:22 and Ps. 2:7 upon the voice from heaven. Since Lentzen-Deis primarily utilizes the Targum Neofiti I to Gen. 22:10 to establish a new 'literarische Gattung' labelled "Deute-Vision", which is used to explain the "literarische Gattung" of the baptism account, it is curious that he declines to investigate the possibility of Gen. 22:2,12,16 as a source for the baptism voice. See pp. 183-193, 259-265.
377. In some quarters of contemporary christological research there is an attempt to construct something of a straight-line development of the use and application of Ps. 2:7 (and other testimonia). For example Hamerton-Kelly asserts that, "Initially it Ps. 2:7 was applied to the resurrection (Rom. 1:4; Acts 13:33ff), then it was conflated with Is. 42:1 to form the words spoken from heaven at Jesus' baptism (Mk. 1:11 pars), at Lk. 9:35 it describes Jesus' dignity in the Transfiguration; and here Heb. 1:5 it conveys his eternal generation. The trajectory traced by this text is paradigmatic of at least one way in which the doctrine of pre-existence developed: from the resurrection through the earthly life to pre-existence." p. 245. (cf. Montefiore, p. 44). Fuller conjectures that in the Palestinian stratum Ps. 2:7 was first associated with the parousia (Rom. 1:3f) but later in the Jewish-Hellenistic stratum it was linked to the exaltation, the resurrection and the baptism. pp. 164-170. Likewise, Lindars asserts that Ps. 2:7 was originally applied to the resurrection (Acts 13:33, Heb. 1:5; 5:5; 7:28) but later was added to the baptism voice. Critics have not been slow to point out that 1) a pre-conceived schema tends to dictate which way the evidence is interpreted (Gundry, p. 161, n. 3), 2) the dating of the traditions is based upon "logical" development rather than chronological criteria (M.P. Miller, "Targum, Midrash and the Use of the Old Testament in the New Testament", J.S.J. 2 (1971), 67,68) and 3) the idea of a straight-line development in early christology is hard to establish (W. Thüsing, "Erhöhungsvorstellung und Parusie-erwartung in der ältesten nachösterlichen Christologie", B.Z. 1 (1967) 207,208). If the conclusion arrived at in this chapter is correct, these various and sometimes conflicting schemata must be reconsidered.

378. In addition to its use as a Schriftbeweis to attest Jesus sonship (Clement of Rome, I Clement 36:4 (Loeb I, 70); Justin, Apol. I, 40, 7 (Blunt, p. 61); Irenaeus, Epid. 49 (T.U. XXXI, Hft. 1, 37); Origen, Homily on Luke XXXI, 4 (G.C.S. 2nd ed., IX, 177); Alexander of Alexandria, Epistle on The Arian Heresy I, 8 (in Theodoret Eccl. His. I, 4, 33 (G.C.S. p. 17)); Eusebius, Demonstration of the Gospel, IV, 16, 4-8 (G.C.S. VI, 184, 185); Methodius, Symposium VIII, 9 (G.C.S., p. 91); Hilary, De Trinitate VIII, 25 (P.L. X, 254), Ps. 2:7 was also used 1) to attest Christ's eternal sonship (Epistle to Diognetus 11:5 (Loeb, II, 374); Origen, Comm. on John I, 32 (G.C.S. IV, 37)); 2) to show that Christ was begotten perfect (Clement of Alexandria, Paed. I, 6, 25 (G.C.S. I, 105)), 3) to evince that Christ is the covenant of God (Justin, Dial. 122, 8 (J.C.T. Otto, S. Justini Opera I, 412)), 4) to prove that the son is distinct from the father (Tertullian, Adv. Praxeas IX, 3 (C.C.L. II, 1171) and Novatian, De Trinitate XXVI (C.C.L. IV, 62)) and 5) to witness to the Christian's sonship (Didascalia IX, 2, 32 (R.H. Connolly, Didascalia Apostolorum, p. 93) and Apostolic Constitutions II, 5, 32 (P.A. de Lagarde, Constitutiones Apostolorum, p. 60)).
379. As already noted Ps. 2:7 was mainly associated with the baptism. It was connected to Christ's resurrection by Ambrose and Hilary (fn. 98b). Cyprian associates Ps. 2:7 with the incarnation. Ad Quirinum, II, 8 (C.C.L. III, 40).

Chapter V

A STUDY OF PSALM 2:9 IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

## I. Introduction

Ps. 2:9 is not quoted in the N.T., but it is alluded to three times in the Apocalypse of John (2:27, 12:5, 19:15). Other allusions to Ps. 2 which occur in the Apocalypse will also be considered in this chapter. Although there has been considerable research in recent years on the literary structure, interpretative framework<sup>1</sup> and christology<sup>2</sup> of Rev., no major study of the use of the O.T. in Rev. has been published since A. Schlatter's Das Alte Testament in der johanneischen Apokalypse in 1912.<sup>3</sup> On the basis of the appendix of volume two of Westcott and Hort's New Testament in Greek, Swete has stated that of the 404 verses in the Apocalypse there are 278 which contain allusions to the O.T. Few of these, however, are as clear as the three allusions to Ps. 2:9.<sup>4</sup> Since Ps. 2:9 is alluded to, but not quoted, the four areas of investigation (1. IF and text, 2. contribution, 3. function and 4. hermeneutical stance and technique) which have been followed in chapters three and four are employed in this chapter with some modification. The Apocalypse was probably composed toward the end of Domitian's reign (90-95 A.D.), but the question of authorship<sup>5</sup> is left open.<sup>6</sup>

## II. Revelation 2:26-28 (2:18)

### A. Text

First, the extent of the allusion must be established. In the text of U.B.S. (2nd ed.), Nestle-Aland (25th ed.) and Westcott and Hort  $\delta\acute{\omega}\sigma\omega$   $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omega$  and  $\tau\omega\nu$   $\epsilon\theta\nu\omega\nu$  of vs. 26b are put in bold-faced type or uncials. No doubt the  $\tau\omega\nu$   $\epsilon\theta\nu\omega\nu$  alludes to Ps. 2:8 ( $\square\prime\prime\lambda\ \Pi\Lambda\chi\iota, \text{ καὶ } \delta\acute{\omega}\sigma\omega \text{ σοι } \epsilon\theta\nu\eta$  ), but the  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omega$  definitely does not go back to the LXX or the M.T. The  $\delta\acute{\omega}\sigma\omega$  might go back to the LXX or M.T., but the repeated use of  $\delta\acute{\omega}\sigma\omega$   $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omega$  in connection with the giving of something to

the overcomer (2:7,10 ( *δύσω σοι* ), 17 (twice), 28: 3:21) indicates that *δύσω* probably is to be credited to the author's style. Thus the placing of *δύσω* in bold-faced type is questionable. At any rate, the thought of Rev. 2:26b like that of Rev. 2:28<sup>7</sup> ( *ὡς καὶ ἐῴληφα παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς μου* ) is to be traced back to Ps. 2:8.<sup>8</sup> Furthermore, Charles suggests that Jer. 19:11b ( *כַּדֹּשֶׁת הַיָּדָיִם לִי כַדֹּשֶׁת הַיָּדָיִם לִי* ) *καθὼς συντρίβεται ἄγγος ὀστράκινον* ) should be considered as a parallel to vs. 27b ( *ὡς τὰ σκεύη τὰ κεραμικὰ συντρίβεται* ); but he believes that vs. 27b is a free rendering of Ps. 2:9.<sup>9</sup> Without giving any evidence Ozanne asserts that vs. 27b goes back to Jer. 19:11.<sup>10</sup> That vs. 27b is a dependent adverbial clause like Jer. 19:11 and not an independent and a parallel clause like Ps. 2:9<sup>11</sup> points towards its dependence upon Jer. 19:11. That *ὡς τὰ σκεύη τὰ κεραμικὰ συντρίβεται* is not to be traced back to Ps. 2:9 is reinforced by the observation that the definite article is missing in Ps. 2:9b M.T. and LXX but is found in Jer. 19:11 M.T.<sup>12</sup> Thus the verbal (to be distinguished from the thought) allusion to Ps. 2:8,9 is limited to *τῶν ἐθνῶν* of vs. 26b and *ποιμανεῖ αὐτοὺς ἐν ῥάβδῳ σιδηρᾷ* of vs. 27a.

Having delimited the allusion, it must be asked whether this allusion should be traced back to the H.T., LXX or some other source. Neither the shift from the second person ( *οὐ γὰρ ποιμανεῖς* ) to the third person ( *ποιμανεῖ* ) nor the straightforward translations of the H.T. into *αὐτοὺς ἐν ῥάβδῳ σιδηρᾷ* offers any help in answering this question. This leaves the much debated *ποιμανεῖ*. Bousset,<sup>13</sup> Swete,<sup>14</sup> Lohmeyer,<sup>15</sup> Jeremias<sup>16</sup> and Trudinger<sup>17</sup> argue that *ποιμανεῖ* was taken over from the LXX. Swete's basis for his assertion is that the author of the



Apocalypse "generally availed himself of the Alexandrian version of the O.T."<sup>18</sup> But the idea that the author followed a Greek translation of the O.T. has been modified by Charles<sup>19</sup> and rejected by Lancellotti,<sup>20</sup> Caird<sup>21</sup> and above all by Ozanne,<sup>22</sup> Bousset<sup>23</sup> and Jeremias<sup>24</sup> argue that ποιμανεῖ goes back to the LXX because the LXX has mistranslated □ΥΓΛ, i.e. the LXX read □ΥΓΛ (ΠΥΓ, to tend) rather than □ΥΓΛ(ΥΥΓ, to smash). But is ποιμανεῖς a mistaken translation of □ΥΓΛ? Bousset and Jeremias apparently are unaware of the fact that both ΠΥΓ and ποιμαίνω have a second meaning — to destroy. This has been shown by Charles<sup>25</sup> and Lohmeyer,<sup>26</sup> and it has already been argued in chapter one that □ΥΓΛ in the destructive sense agrees with the parallel line (Ps. 2:9b) and fits well with the shepherd's שָׂרַף וַיַּשְׁמַד. Consequently, ποιμανεῖς probably is not a mistaken translation. It must now be asked if the author of the Apocalypse was dependent upon the LXX for ποιμανεῖ. For the author, who clearly knew the second meaning of ποιμαίνω<sup>27</sup> and had a good knowledge of Hebrew, it is entirely possible that independently of the LXX he rendered □ΥΓΛ by ποιμαίνω; but this does not prove that he did. It only establishes the possibility. The decision must be made on the basis of the author's usual procedure in alluding to the O.T., and this was to follow the H.T. Thus the author of Rev. probably derived the allusion to Ps. 2:9 from the H.T.

#### B. Context

The letter to Thyatira (2:18-28) is one of seven letters addressed to the churches of Asia Minor (chs. 2,3). This letter is parallel in structure to the other six letters. After the address to the church (vs. 18a), the speaker (vs. 18b) is depicted in terms primarily drawn from Rev. 1. The speaker declares that he knows their good works (vs. 19), but he is not pleased with their toleration of the woman Jezebel

(vss. 20-23). Those who have not accepted her teaching are exhorted to "hold fast what you have, until I come" (vss. 24,25). To the one who overcomes, Christ promises that ποιμανεῖ αὐτοὺς ἐν ῥάβδῳ σιδήρᾳ (vs. 27a) and that τὸν ἀστέρα τὸν πρωῒνον (vs. 28a) will be given to him. The letter closes with the usual exhortation: "he who has ears to hear let him hear what the Spirit says to the churches" (vs. 29).

### C. Contribution of Ps. 2:8,9 to the Letter to Thyatira

#### 1. Analysis of the Allusion

##### a. Structure of vss. 26b-28a.

δώσω αὐτῷ (i.e. ὁ νικῶν ... τὰ ἔργα μου)  
 ἐξουσίαν ἐπὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν  
 καὶ ποιμανεῖ αὐτοὺς ἐν ῥάβδῳ σιδήρᾳ  
 ὡς τὰ σκεύη τὰ κεραμικὰ συντρίβεται  
 ὡς καὶ ἐῴληφα παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς μου  
 καὶ  
 δώσω αὐτῷ  
 τὸν ἀστέρα τὸν πρωῒνον

The clause δώσω αὐτῷ ἐξουσίαν ἐπὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν (vs. 26a), which is a free rendering of the thought of Ps. 2:8, is a statement of what Christ promises to the overcomer. ποιμανεῖ αὐτοὺς ἐν ῥάβδῳ σιδήρᾳ (vs. 27a) explicates how this authority is to be used. The adverbial clause ὡς τὰ σκεύη τὰ κεραμικὰ συντρίβεται (vs. 27b) makes absolutely clear how ποιμανεῖ is to be taken. Finally, ὡς καὶ ἐῴληφα παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς μου (vs. 28a), which is to be taken with vss. 26,27, and not vs. 28b,<sup>28</sup>

states that this ἐξουσία (cf. 12:10) which Christ gives to the overcomer has been received from his father (an allusion to the thought of Ps. 2:7,8, see below). Thus the thought moves from Ps. 2:8 (vs. 26b) to Ps. 2:9 (vs. 27) to Ps. 2:7,8 (vs. 28a).

b. δώσω αὐτῷ ἐξουσίαν ἐπὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν (vs. 26b). ἐξουσία in Rev. 2:26 means to have power or ability to do something<sup>29</sup> (for ἐξουσία ἐπὶ plus genitive in Rev. see 11:6; 14:18; 20:6).<sup>30</sup> Probably ἐξουσία is used in place of "inheritance" (κληρονομία, τὴν κληρονομίαν σου) of Ps. 2:8. The replacement of inheritance by ἐξουσία may signal a shift from a matter of legal right to ability or power. The O.T. context of Ps. 2:8 speaks of the Father giving the inheritance to the son, but in Rev. 2:26ff the Son gives the ἐξουσία to the overcomer. Thus Ps. 2:8 which referred to the king in the O.T. context and is connected with Christ in Rev. 12:5, 19:19 (see below) is here applied in corporate solidarity fashion to believers.<sup>31</sup> The overcomer exercises this power over τῶν ἐθνῶν, i.e. the unbelievers.<sup>32</sup>

c. καὶ ποιμανεῖ αὐτοὺς ἐν ῥάβδῳ σιδηρᾷ (vs. 27a). ποιμαίνω has three distinct meanings in the N.T.: 1) to tend, to feed (Lk. 17:7; John 21:6; I Cor. 9:7), 2) to rule (Mt. 2:6; I Peter 5:2), and 3) to destroy (Rev. 2:26; 12:5; 19:15).<sup>33</sup> As argued above, this third meaning is required by the context of Rev. 2:26; 19:15. Other examples of where the context requires this third meaning are found in the LXX (Jer. 22:22; Micah 5:6; Ps. 48:15, see ch. I) and in I Clement 51:4 (Loeb I, 96) where Ps. 48:15 is cited.

How should ποιμαίνω in Rev. 2:26 (12:5; 19:15) be translated? Since Christ is depicted as a shepherd in Rev. 7:17<sup>34</sup> and since it is his authority (2:28) that is given to the overcomer,

the shepherding imagery should be preserved. Ozanne points out that  $\Pi\psi\gamma$  (ποιμαίνω) "denotes not only the pastoral activity of a shepherd towards his flock..., but also his destructive activity towards wild beasts and robbers."<sup>35</sup> Thus one might render

ποιμανεῖ αὐτοὺς as "he shall 'shepherd' them." Since the shepherding imagery of ποιμαίνω in Rev. 2:26 (12:5; 19:15) should probably be preserved and since Christ is depicted as king in Rev. 17:14; 19:16, ῥάβδω σιδηρᾷ might be translated "iron sceptre".<sup>36</sup> Thus the Shepherd-King<sup>37</sup> (see 12:5; 19:15) and the overcomer (2:26) shall "shepherd" (i.e. destroy, not rule)<sup>38</sup> the gentiles (unbelievers) with an iron sceptre.<sup>39</sup>

d. ὡς τὰ σκεύη τὰ κεραμικὰ συντρίβεται (vs. 27b). It has already been shown above that the source of this adverbial clause is Jer. 19:11 and not Ps. 2:9. The similarity in thought between the two O.T. texts accounts for this conflation.

e. ὡς κἀγὼ εἵληφα παρὰ τοῦ πατρός μου (vs. 28a). This clause is probably an allusion to the thought of Ps. 2:7,8. Ps. 2:6ff is spoken from the perspective of the Father, i.e. son and giving. Rev. 2:26ff is written from the perspective of the Son, i.e. my (not our) Father and receiving.

f. Thus the contribution of the allusion to Ps. 2:8 in vs. 26b ("power over the nations") is a description of what has been given to the overcomer, and the contribution of the allusion to Ps. 2:9 in vs. 27 ("he shall 'shepherd' them with an iron sceptre") is a description of how the authority is to be used.

## 2. Giving of The Morning Star (vs. 28b)

δώσω αὐτῷ τὸν ἄστέρα τὸν πρωΐνόν (vs. 28b) is parallel to δώσω αὐτῷ ἐξουσίαν (vs. 26b).

Does this mean that two distinct gifts were promised to the overcomer? The answer lies in the definition of "morning star". Various interpretations of this difficult passage have been put forward. The morning star is 1) Christ himself (see 22:16),<sup>40</sup> 2) the dawn of salvation or life eternal shining upon the overcomer after dark affliction,<sup>41</sup> 3) the Holy Spirit<sup>42</sup> or 4) a symbol of sovereignty.<sup>43</sup> It has been shown that Venus, the morning star, was considered to be a symbol of sovereignty.<sup>44</sup> If the fourth explanation is correct, vs. 28b is simply a figurative restatement of the gift of vs. 26b, i.e. ἐξουσία. In this study the question is left open. Some see behind the morning star an allusion to Num. 24:17 ("a star [not morning star <sup>45</sup>] shall come forth out of Jacob and a sceptre (𐤀𐤍𐤔) shall arise out of Israel; it shall crush the forehead of Moab")<sup>46</sup> and think that Ps. 2:9 and Num. 24:17 were linked on the basis of the common 𐤀𐤍𐤔.<sup>47</sup> But it is not clear that morning star goes back to the star of Num. 24:17.

### 3. Fulfillment of the Promise to the Conqueror

When and how is the promise fulfilled? Most scholars agree that the Apocalypse indicates that the fulfillment occurs at the parousia.<sup>48</sup> On the basis of spiritualizing the text,<sup>49</sup> some scholars envisage a partial fulfillment in the present age.<sup>50</sup> The context shows that the conqueror is to hold fast what he has until Christ comes (vs. 25) or until his death (vs. 26). Thus the fulfillment is beyond this life (so too the promises in 2:7,10; 3:5,12,21) and apparently at the parousia (cf. Rev. 19:11ff).<sup>51</sup>

Two answers have been given by the Fathers and modern exegetes as to how the promise is to be fulfilled. On the one hand, some envisage a literal fulfillment of the promise, i.e. a destroying (or in some cases a ruling) of the enemies of God. Justin's brief comment that



ὑποτάσσειν αὐτῷ πάντας ἐχθρούς  
 ἐπήγγελται (Apol. I, 40, 7: A.W.F. Blunt, Apologies of Justin,  
 p. 61) perhaps belongs in this category. The Sibylline Oracles VIII,  
 248 places Ps. 2:9 in the midst of a well-known acrostic ( Ἰησοῦς  
 Χρῆστὸς Θεοῦ Ὑἱὸς Σωτὴρ Σταυρός )  
 which gives a graphic description of the last judgment (lines 217-243),  
 but also holds forth hope of salvation for the pious (lines 244-247):  
 "A trumpet from heaven shall send forth a sound of great lamentation,  
 mourning defilement of limbs and a world's calamity. Then shall a  
 gaping earth display the abyss of Tartarus. All kings [Ps. 2:2?]  
 shall come to God's judgment seat. From heaven shall flow a river  
 of fire and brimstone. Then shall be a sign for all mortals, a notable  
 seal, the wood among the faithful, the horn long desired, life for  
 pious men, but a stumbling-block for the world. With its waters  
 enlightening the elect in twelve springs; a staff of iron, shepherding,  
 shall hold sway ( ῥάβδος ποιμαίνουσα σιδηρεῖη  
 γε κρατήσῃ ) (G.C.S., pp. 156,157, lines 239-248; Hennecke,  
 II, 733). Since the allusion to Ps. 2:9 occurs in the last line of  
 the acrostic, there is some difficulty in knowing exactly how it is to  
 be taken. Probably it denotes the idea of ruling both unrighteous and  
 righteous, but the idea of destroying is not explicit. This passage is  
 repeated in Eusebius, Oration of Constantine XVIII, 22 (G.C.S. I, 180).  
 Perhaps Ps. 2:9 is taken literally by the Naassenes (see Hippolytus,  
Refutatio Omnium Haeresium, V, 7, 32; G.C.S. III, 86) and by the  
History of Josephus the Carpenter 6 (A.N.F., VIII, 389; T.U. LVI, 4).  
 Among modern commentators, Ladd is an example of one who appears to  
 expect a future, literal fulfillment of this promise.<sup>52</sup> On the other  
 hand, Clement of Alexandria in Paed. I, 7 (G.C.S. I, 126) links Ps. 2:9  
 with I Cor. 4:21, Ps. 109:2 LXX, Ps. 22:4 LXX and understands the  
 catena as referring to chastisement and instruction of the believer.

Origen employs Ps. 2:9 (with I Cor. 4:21) in the same fashion as Clement (Selecta in Psalmos, section 542 in P.G. XII, 1108).<sup>53</sup> In a piece of complicated "exegesis", Adamantius (De recta in Deum fide I, 24; G.C.S., p. 46) explains that Ps. 2:9 finds its fulfillment in the salvation (shepherding) of the Romans. Augustine in his Enarrationes in Psalmos on Ps. 2 (C.C.L. XXXVIII, 5) states that, "Thou shalt break in them earthly lusts and the filthy doing of the old man and whatsoever hath been derived and inured from the sinful clay." (Library of Fathers (6 vols., Oxford, Parker, 1847), I, 7). Jerome in Letter CIX, 2 (J. La Bourt, Saint Jérôme Lettres (8 vols., Collection des Universités de France, Paris, 1949-1963), V, 203; N.P.N.C.F., p. 213) declares that, "I am surprised that the reverend bishop in whose diocese he is said to be a presbyter acquiesces in this mad preaching, and that he does not rather with apostolic rod, nay with a rod of iron, shatter this useless vessel and deliver him for the destruction of the flesh that the spirit may be saved." Swete is an example of a modern exegete who after giving a straightforward statement of the literal meaning of Ps. 2:9 in Rev. 2:27 provides a spiritualised application: "Historically the promise fulfils itself in the Church's influence upon the world; no other voluntary society can be compared with her as a factor in the shaping of national character and life, and the individual disciple, in proportion as he is loyal, bears his share in the subjugation of the world to Christ (cf. Rom. 15:18 ...). But the deeper fulfillment of this promise, as of the rest of the series, awaits the Parousia."<sup>54</sup>

#### D. Function and Hermeneutical Stance and Technique

The allusion to Ps. 2:9a in Rev. 2:27a is used to express part of the content of the promise to the conqueror. It does not function as a Schriftbeweis (cf. Heb. 1:5; 5:5) or in a prophecy-fulfillment schema (cf. Acts 13:32f). The O.T. prophecy of Ps. 2:9 is alluded to in Rev.

2:27 with certain alterations, i.e. applied to an overcomer, as a prophecy. Thus its hermeneutical stance is literal. The conflation of Ps. 2:9a and Jer. 19:11b in Rev. 2:27 evinces a midrashic hermeneutical technique of drawing together similar texts. The application of Ps. 2:9 to the conqueror on the basis of a corporate solidarity understanding points to another Jewish hermeneutical technique. If it were possible to show that the "morning star" stems from Num. 24:17, it could be posited that a common  $\square \square \psi$  helped to link together Ps. 2:9 and Num. 24:17.

#### E. Allusion to Ps. 2:7 in Rev. 2:18

Many scholars have seen in the description of the speaker as  $\delta \upsilon \acute{\iota} \omicron \varsigma \tau \omicron \upsilon \theta \epsilon \omicron \upsilon$  (vs. 18) an allusion to Ps. 2:7.<sup>55</sup> Since Son of God christology is implicit elsewhere in the Apocalypse (1:6; 2:27; 3:5,21; 14:1) but only explicit in the letter to Thyatira which contains a clear allusion to Ps. 2:9 and since "my father" of vs. 28 indicates that the author probably had in view Ps. 2:7,8, there are some grounds for seeing an allusion to Ps. 2:7 in vs. 18.

### III. Revelation 12:5 (11:15,18; 12:10)

#### A. Text

Rev. 12:5 reads  $\kappa \alpha \iota \epsilon \tau \epsilon \kappa \epsilon \nu \upsilon \acute{\iota} \omicron \nu, \alpha \rho \sigma \epsilon \nu, \delta \varsigma \mu \acute{\epsilon} \lambda \lambda \epsilon \iota \pi \omicron \iota \mu \alpha \acute{\iota} \nu \epsilon \iota \nu \pi \acute{\alpha} \nu \tau \alpha \tau \grave{\alpha} \epsilon \theta \nu \eta \epsilon \nu \rho \acute{\alpha} \beta \delta \omega \sigma \iota \delta \eta \rho \grave{\alpha}$ . The U.B.S., Westcott and Hort and Nestle-Aland texts put  $\pi \omicron \iota \mu \alpha \acute{\iota} \nu \epsilon \iota \nu$  and  $\tau \grave{\alpha} \epsilon \theta \nu \eta \epsilon \nu \rho \acute{\alpha} \beta \delta \omega \sigma \iota \delta \eta \rho \grave{\alpha}$  in bold-faced type. Although  $\mu \acute{\epsilon} \lambda \lambda \epsilon \iota \pi \omicron \iota \mu \alpha \acute{\iota} \nu \epsilon \iota \nu$  has replaced  $\square \gamma \gamma \lambda / \pi \omicron \iota \mu \alpha \nu \epsilon \acute{\iota} \varsigma$  and  $\tau \grave{\alpha} \epsilon \theta \nu \eta$ , probably taken from Ps. 2:8 (the definite article is not found in the M.T. or LXX), has been substituted for  $\square .. / \alpha \upsilon \tau \omicron \upsilon \varsigma$  there is no new evidence which would indicate that the text did not come from the H.T. (see above on 2:17).

## B. Context

### 1. Setting in Revelation

The wider context of Rev. 12:5 is chs. 4-16, the second vision.<sup>56</sup> In this section there are seven seals (5:1-8:1), seven trumpets (8:2-14:20) and seven bowls (15:1-16:21). The first six of the seven trumpets are described in Rev. 8:7-9:21. This is followed by an interlude (10:1-11:13), and then the sounding, but not the description,<sup>57</sup> of the seventh trumpet (11:14-19). Chs. 12-14 apparently are another interlude.<sup>58</sup> This interlude is concerned with the war between the great red dragon and the heavenly woman (ch. 12), the appearance of the two beasts (ch. 13) and a series of visions that convey the assurance of the vindication of the believers and judgment upon the followers of the beast (ch. 14).

### 2. Woman, Dragon, Son

Rev. 12 has been the subject of three recent monographs: one on the history of interpretation by Prigent,<sup>59</sup> one on the sources of the imagery by Hedrick<sup>60</sup> and one on the exegesis of the text by Gollinger.<sup>61</sup> Only three considerations will be outlined: 1) the identification of the woman, the dragon, and the son, 2) the source(s) of the imagery and 3) the basic import of the text.

According to Gollinger's survey the woman (12:1) has been considered a symbol for 1) Mary, 2) Mary and the Church, 3) the people of Israel, 4) the people of God of the Old and New Testaments understood as a unity, 5) "the one Catholic Church under different aspects" (Swete) and 6) "die Kirche als die ihrem Wesen und Urbild nach vom Himmel stammende endzeitliche Heilsgemeinde" (Vögtle).<sup>62</sup> Gollinger has argued that the last suggestion has many advantages. The great, red dragon (12:3,4) is identified with the "ancient serpent, who is called the Devil and Satan, the deceiver of the whole

world" (12:9). "Son, a male child"<sup>63</sup> ( υἱόν ἄρσεν ) is understood by almost all scholars as a reference to the Messiah or Jesus.<sup>64</sup>

Hedrick's thorough analysis of the various possible sources of the imagery of Rev. 12 need not be reproduced. He concludes that most of the figures (i.e. the dragon, the Messiah as child, the woman as Israel, the figure of Michael, the enmity of the woman and serpent, the escape into the desert) are not unusual in the O.T. and Jewish literature. Yet he argues "that the precise relation of these figures is not familiar and that their actions have no Jewish precedents. Israel as a woman does not give birth to the Messiah: Israel as a woman — or the church as a woman — is not elsewhere pursued by a dragon. Michael fights various forces, but never a dragon; and the woman and the dragon do not appear as celestial figures."<sup>65</sup> Admitting that John himself could have supplied these actions and relations, Hedrick posits that John took "his script from elsewhere, and that, in particular, he took it from the myth of Apollo's birth and slaying of the dragon."<sup>66</sup>

Since Ps. 2:9 is directly connected to υἱόν ἄρσεν , its source should be explored. It has often been noted that ἄρσεν is redundant. This has led some scholars to label υἱόν ἄρσεν a Hebraism.<sup>67</sup> This can be illustrated from Jer. 20:15 ( נָסִיחַ נָסִיחַ ) and Tobit 6:12 X ( υἱὸς ἄρσεν ) which translates a lost Semitic Vorlage, but neither of these illustrations is the source of υἱόν ἄρσεν in Rev. 12:15.<sup>68</sup> Furthermore, in Rev. 12:13 ( τὴν γυναῖκα ἣτις ἔτεκεν τὸν ἄρσεν ) υἱός is dropped. Thus the redundancy may be due to a conflation of two sources rather than a Hebraism in some Semitic source. What then are the possible sources?

ἔτεκεν ἄρσεν reflects a common O.T. phrase found in



Ex. 2:2; Lev. 12:2,7; Is. 66:7; Jer. 20:15; 37(30):6. None of these, however, is the source of ἔτεκεν ἄρσεν of Rev. 12:5.

Although IQH 3:7-10 ("For amid the throes of Death she shall bring forth a man-child [703] and amid the pains of Hell there spring from her child-bearing crucible a Marvellous Mighty Counsellor") probably is not a source lying directly behind Rev. 12,<sup>69</sup> according to Black it is "remarkable parallel to Rev. 12:1-6."<sup>70</sup> Black comments that "the poet compares himself with a pregnant woman about to give birth: but like the 'I' of the Psalter he appears here to be speaking as a representative of Israel or the faithful congregation of Israel." He also points out that it is not the birth of any particular individual that is in view rather the birth of a "whole community of people".<sup>71</sup> Although there is little doubt that the "Wonderful Counsellor" of IQH 3:10 is derived from Is. 9:6, there is no pre-Christian evidence that Is. 9:6 was given a messianic interpretation. Consequently, it cannot be shown that the "Wonderful Counsellor" of IQH 3:10 is a messianic figure (corporate or individual). On the other hand, there is some evidence in the N.T. of a messianic use of Is. 9:7 (Lk. 1:32,33).<sup>72</sup> If the author of Rev. was aware of the Christian use of Is. 9:1-7,<sup>73</sup> it is not inconceivable that he could have understood "Wonderful Counsellor" of IQH 3:10 in a messianic sense. It would have been a relatively short step from the kind of tradition (i.e. "she shall bring forth a man-child") preserved in IQH 3:7-10 to the ideas found in Rev. 12. Although it cannot be demonstrated that Rev. 12 used IQH 3, it is possible that John drew upon the kind of tradition found in IQH 3 for ἔτεκεν ἄρσεν .

What is the source of υἱός? If John used a tradition like the one preserved in IQH 3, then it is possible that "Wonderful Counsellor" of Is. 9:6b suggested the "son" of Is. 9:6a ("For unto us a child is born, to us a son is given"). On the other hand, it

has been conjectured that υἱός was taken from Ps. 2:7.<sup>73a</sup> This finds support from the following observations. 1) Ps. 2:9 is quoted in Rev. 12:5 in very close connection with υἱός (ἔτεκεν υἱόν, ἄρσεν, ὃς μέλλει ποιμαίνειν πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἐν ῥάβδῳ σιδηρᾷ). 2) There are other probable allusions to Ps. 2 in the context (11:15,18; 12:10), see below). 3) ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ in Rev. 2:18, the only place besides Rev. 12:5 where Jesus is referred to as υἱός, is probably an allusion to Ps. 2:7.<sup>74</sup> Against Ps. 2:7 is the fact that the son in Rev. 12:5 is begotten by a mother not a father. Thus the evidence is not sufficient to permit a definite conclusion on the source of υἱός in Rev. 12:5, but Ps. 2:7 is at least a possibility.

Finally, the basic import of the text should be noted. Although there is much debate and uncertainty over many of the details of ch. 12, it is clear that this is a "vision in highly imaginative terms of the heavenly warfare between God and Satan, which has its counterpart in history in the conflict between the church and demonic evil."<sup>75</sup>

#### C. Contribution and Function of Ps. 2:9

When the allusion to Ps. 2:9 in Rev. 12:5 (ὃς μέλλει ποιμαίνειν πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἐν ῥάβδῳ σιδηρᾷ) is compared to the allusion to Ps. 2:9 in Rev. 2:27; 19:15 (ποιμανεῖ αὐτοὺς ἐν ῥάβδῳ σιδηρᾷ) three alterations become apparent: ποιμανεῖ has been altered to μέλλει ποιμαίνειν, πάντα has been added and αὐτοὺς has been replaced by τὰ ἔθνη. The shift from the future indicative to μέλλω plus the present infinitive does not greatly affect the sense of the text. Gollinger believes that the verb has been

altered in order to show that the fulfillment belongs to the events of the end-time and is expected in the near future.<sup>76</sup> The πάντα has apparently been added to show the universal scope of the Son's rule (cf. πάντων of Heb. 1:2). The (τὰ) ἔθνη has been introduced into the text on the basis of Ps. 2:8.<sup>77</sup> In terms of content, the contribution of Ps. 2:9 in this context is a description of the Son's judging activity ("who is about to 'shepherd' all the gentiles with an iron sceptre"). In terms of function, Ps. 2:9 serves as an identification of υἱόν ἄρσεν.<sup>78</sup>

D. Allusions to Ps. 2 in Rev. 11:15, 18; 12:10

Rev. 11:15 proleptically announces that ἐγένετο ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ κόσμου τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν καὶ τοῦ χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ. The combination of κύριος and χριστός as two distinct persons,<sup>79</sup> the distinctive αὐτοῦ in χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ<sup>80</sup> and the clear reference to Ps. 2:9 in Rev. 12:5 indicate that τοῦ κυρίου (ἡμῶν) καὶ τοῦ χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ probably is an allusion to Ps. 2:2 (יְהוָה יְגִיד יְהוָה, κατὰ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ κατὰ τοῦ χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ).<sup>81</sup> The same is true of Rev. 12:10 (ἄρτι ἐγένετο ἡ σωτηρία καὶ ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν καὶ ἡ ἐξουσία τοῦ χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ) where κυρίου has been altered to Θεοῦ.<sup>82</sup> In Rev. 11:15; 12:10 the allusions to Ps. 2:2 are associated with the commencement of the royal rule of "our Lord and his Christ". It is against such a rule that the gentiles were angry. Rev. 11:17b, 18a states that καὶ ἐβασίλευσας καὶ τὰ ἔθνη ὠργίσθησαν, καὶ ἦλθεν ἡ ὀργή σου. ἐβασίλευσας and ὠργίσθησαν probably allude to Ps. 99(98):1 (יְהוָה יְגִיד יְהוָה יְגִיד יְהוָה

ὁ κύριος ἐβασίλευσεν, ὀργιζέσθωσαν λαοί ).

Ozanne observes that (τὰ) ἔθνη from Ps. 2:2 has displaced □'ΟΥ

(λαοί) of Ps. 99(98):1.<sup>83</sup> The idea, not the wording, of

ἦλθεν ἡ ὀργή σου agrees with the thought of Ps. 2:5

("Then he will speak to them in his wrath ( 79X7, ἐν ὀργῇ αὐτοῦ) and terrify them in his fury"). In light of the probable

use of Ps. 2:2 in Rev. 11:15; 12:10 and the definite reference to Ps.

2:9 in Rev. 12:5, it is not unlikely that Rev. 11:18 alludes to Ps.

2:2,5.<sup>84</sup> It is possible that John has taken over the application of

Ps. 2:2 to Jesus from primitive Christian tradition (see ch. III);

but in contrast to that primitive tradition which links Ps. 2:2 to the

rebellion against (Acts 4:25ff) and death of (Acts 3:18) Christ at

his first appearance, John alludes to Ps. 2:2 in the context of

Christ's final victory at his parousia.

#### IV. Revelation 19:15 (19:19)

##### A. Text

The text of the allusions to Ps. 2:9 in Rev. 19:15 and in Rev. 2:27 are identical. Thus it is likely that Ps. 2:9 in Rev. 19:15 goes back to the H.T. (see Rev. 2:27).

##### B. Context

Rev. 19:15 is situated in the third vision (17:1-21:8) of the Apocalypse. This vision consists of 1) the mystery of Babylon (17:1-18), 2) the judgment of Babylon (18:1-19:5) and 3) the final triumph and consummation (19:6-21:8). In the third section the marriage supper of the Lamb (19:6-10) precedes the parousia<sup>85</sup> of Christ (19:11-16), and the battle between Christ and Antichrist (19:17-21) succeeds it. The section is completed by the binding of Satan, the resurrection and the millennial kingdom (20:1-6), the final destruction of Satan and death (20:7-15) and the new creation

(21:1-8).<sup>86</sup>

The focus of this study is Rev. 19:11-16 which contains an allusion to Ps. 2:9, but Rev. 19:17-21 must be given some attention because of a possible allusion to Ps. 2:2. In Rev. 19:11-16 the author announces the opening of heaven and the appearance of the Faithful and True One who "in righteousness judges" (Is. 11:4) and makes war (vs. 11). First, his character (vss. 12,13) and then his warring activity (vs. 15) is depicted. The latter is portrayed by the piling up of three O.T. expressions — smiting with a sword, "shepherding" with an iron sceptre and treading the wine press (vs. 15).

#### C. Contribution of Ps. 2:9

In Rev. 19:15a the imagery is that of a sword proceeding from the mouth of Christ (καὶ ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ ἐκπορεύεται ῥομφαία ὀξεῖα, cf. 1:16; 2:12,16; 19:21). This is derived in part from Is. 49:2 (גַּלְגַּלִּי יָצָא מִן־פִּי חֶרֶב, καὶ ἔθηκεν τὸ στόμα μου ὥσει μάχαιραν ὀξεῖαν).<sup>87</sup> The following ἵνα clause (ἵνα ἐν αὐτῇ πατάξῃ τὰ ἔθνη), which is derived in part from Is. 11:4,<sup>88</sup> shows that the sword is employed in the smiting of the gentiles.<sup>89</sup> In Rev. 19:15c the imagery is that of the treading of "the wine press of the fury of the wrath of God the Almighty" (αὐτὸς πατεῖ τὴν ληνὸν τοῦ οἴνου τοῦ θυμοῦ τῆς ὀργῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ παντοκράτορος).<sup>90</sup> This is probably derived from Is. 63:3.<sup>91</sup> Since ποιμανεῖ is parallel to πατάξῃ and πατεῖ,<sup>92</sup> it is evident that in this context ποιμανεῖ has a destructive sense. These three O.T. allusions express one idea — at the parousia the gentiles will be destroyed by Christ.<sup>93</sup>



This is also the thought of Rev. 19:11 (πολεμεῖ) and Rev. 19:17-21.

In the allusion to Ps. 2:9 the ones who are to be "shepherded", i.e. αὐτοὺς, are not defined. But in the preceding clause (ἵνα ἐν αὐτῇ πατάξῃ τὰ ἔθνη) they are specified as τὰ ἔθνη. τὰ ἔθνη has been substituted for ΡΓΧ ("he shall smite the earth with the rod of his mouth"). Since τῶν ἔθνῶν in Rev. 2:26 is an allusion to Ps. 2:8 and is directly associated with the allusion to Ps. 2:9 in Rev. 2:27 and since τὰ ἔθνη in Rev. 12:5 has replaced αὐτοὺς in the allusion to Ps. 2:9, it is probable that (τὰ) ἔθνη in Rev. 19:15a is an allusion to Ps. 2:8.<sup>94</sup> These gentiles, i.e. non-believers, are further described in Rev. 19:17-21 (see below).

Thus in terms of content, the contribution of Ps. 2:9 in Rev. 19:15 is a description in metaphorical language — along with two other metaphors — of Christ's judging and warring activity at his parousia.

#### D. Hermeneutical Stance and Technique

For hermeneutical stance see comments on Rev. 2:27. Ozanne asserts that the combination of Is. 11:4 ("he shall smite the earth with the rod (ΠΓΨ, cf. τῷ λόγῳ LXX) of his mouth") and Ps. 2:9 is explained by the hermeneutical technique of linking texts in which the same word occurs — in this case ΠΓΨ. This is probably correct. Perhaps John himself brought the two texts together, but there is a pre-Christian Jewish occurrence of the linking of Ps. 2:9 with Is. 11:4 in P.S. 17:26,27 (cf. vs. 39).<sup>95</sup> John was not directly dependent upon P.S. for his wording because P.S. 17:26,27,39 (ὡς σκεύη κεραμέως ἐν ῥάβδῳ σιδηρᾷ συντρίψαι πᾶσαν ὑπόστασιν αὐτῶν, ὀλοθρεῦσαι ἔθνη παράνομα ἐν λόγῳ

στόματος αὐτοῦ, and vs. 39 πατάξει γὰρ τὴν<sup>τῇν</sup> λόγῳ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ εἰς αἰῶνα) though accounting for ἐν ῥάβδῳ σιδήρᾳ and πατάξει of Rev. 19:15 does not account for πομανεῖ.<sup>96</sup> On the other hand, John may have been dependent upon P.S. 17:26,27 (or a similar tradition known to him in another source) for the association of Ps. 2:9 with Is. 11:4; but this cannot be demonstrated. Thus it cannot be asserted with certainty that John (rather than a tradition available to him) brought Ps. 2:9 and Is. 11:4 together on the basis of a common ΠΠΨ.

#### E. Allusion to Ps. 2:2 in Rev. 19:19

Rev. 19:17 commences with a call to the birds that fly in midheaven to come to "the great supper of God". This sacrificial feast which consists of the "flesh of the kings, the flesh of captains, the flesh of the mighty men ..." is portrayed in language taken from Ezekiel 39:17-20,<sup>97</sup> i.e. the defeat of Gog of the land of Magog. John sees "the beast and the kings of the earth ( τοὺς βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς ) with their armies gather ( συνηγμένα ) to make war against him who sits upon the horse and against his army" (vs. 19). The ensuing battle is not described. It is simply announced that the beast and the false prophet are captured and thrown alive into the lake of fire (vs. 20) and the rest, e.g. the kings of the earth, are slain "by the sword of him who sits upon the horse, the sword that issues from his mouth" (vs. 21, cf. Is. 49:3). Thus "all the birds were gorged with their flesh" (vs. 21b).

Rev. 19:19 ( τοὺς βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς καὶ τὰ στρατεύματα αὐτῶν συνηγμένα ποιῆσαι τὸν πόλεμον μετὰ τοῦ καθημένου ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵππου ) is parallel to the thought expressed in Ps. 2:2 (the kings of the earth gather together to make war against the Messiah).

Furthermore, there are verbal parallels between Rev. 19:19 and Ps.

2:2 : 1) τοὺς βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς <sup>98</sup> and רְשָׁד  
 רַח, οἱ βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς and 2) συνηγμένα and  
 יַתְּדוּן, <sup>99</sup> συνήχθησαν . This distinctive combination of  
 the kings of the earth gathered <sup>100</sup> plus the clear allusion to Ps. 2:9  
 and the possible allusions to Ps. 2:2 in Rev. 11:15,18; 12:10 provide  
 evidence to support the conclusion that Rev. 19:19 does allude to Ps.  
 2:2. The three other occurrences of συνάγω in Rev. should also  
 be noted. Rev. 16:14ff describes the gathering ( συναγαγεῖν ,  
 vs. 14; συνήγαγεν , vs. 16) of the kings of the whole world  
 ( τοὺς βασιλεῖς τῆς οἰκουμένης ὅλης ,  
 vs. 14) to make war on the great day of God Almighty, i.e. the battle  
 of Armageddon (vs. 16). Rev. 19:17-21 is the battle of Armageddon. <sup>101</sup>  
 Rev. 20:8 depicts the gathering ( συναγαγεῖν ) of the nations  
 ( τὰ ἔθνη ) from the four corners of the earth, i.e. Gog and  
 Magog, to make war. Since יַתְּדוּן ( ἔθνη ) is parallel to  
 רַח רְשָׁד ( οἱ βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς ) in Ps. 2:2  
 and since τὰ ἔθνη is parallel to οἱ βασιλεῖς τῆς  
 γῆς in Rev. 18:3; 21:24, in Rev. 20:8 τὰ ἔθνη perhaps comes  
 from Ps. 2:1. <sup>102</sup> Thus Rev. 19:19 in all probability alludes to Ps.  
 2:2, Rev. 16:14,16 perhaps alludes to Ps. 2:2 and Rev. 20:8 with even  
 less confidence can be noted as an allusion to Ps. 2:2.

The kings of the earth of Ps. 2:2 in Rev. 19:19 are the same as  
 the kings in Rev. 19:18. The language of Rev. 19:17,18 is drawn from  
 Eze. 39:17-20, the battle involving Gog from the land of Magog.  
 Furthermore, in Rev. 20:8, which is perhaps drawn from Ps. 2:2, Gog  
 and Magog (Eze. 38,39) stand in apposition to the nations (Ps. 2:1?).  
 Thus there is probably a link between Gog and Magog of Eze. 39 and  
 the kings of the earth and nations of Ps. 2:1,2. This understanding  
 of the nations and the kings of the earth of Ps. 2:1,2 in terms of Gog

and Magog was perhaps taken over from an early Rabbinic tradition,<sup>103</sup> but dependence upon such a tradition cannot be proven.

It is also noteworthy that the kings of the earth of Rev. 19:19 are associated with supra-human powers, i.e. the beast (Antichrist) and the false prophet (19:19,20). In Rev. 16:14,16, a text related to the battle described in Rev. 19:11ff and possibly alluding to Ps. 2:2, the dragon, the beast and the false prophet send forth demonic spirits whose task is to go abroad to the kings of the whole world to assemble them for battle (cf. Rev. 20:7,8). Thus the kings of the earth are manipulated by supra-human powers. It is possible that John has been influenced by a pre-Christian Jewish tradition such as that found in 4QFlor 1:18ff where the nations of Ps. 2:1,2 are associated with Belial (see ch. II), but again dependence upon such a tradition cannot be proven. In the Fathers this association of Ps. 2:1,2 with supra-human powers is taken a step further: the enemies of "the Lord and his Christ" are themselves seen as supra-human powers.<sup>104</sup>

#### V. Summary and Conclusions

The ποιμανεῖ of the allusion to Ps. 2:9 agrees with ποιμανεῖς of the LXX which read □ΥΡΑ; but in the light of John's usual employment of the H.T. and the use of ΠΥΡ to mean shepherding in a destructive sense, it is likely that John took the allusion from the H.T. and like the LXX read □ΥΡΑ.

The adverbial clause of Rev. 2:27b (ὡς τὰ σκεύη τὰ κεραμικὰ συντρίβεται), which probably goes back to Jer. 19:11b, clearly shows that ποιμαίνω in Rev. 2:27a has a destructive sense. Likewise the allusions to Is. 11:4 (πατάξῃ) and to Is. 63:3 (πατεῖ) in Rev. 19:15, which are parallel to Ps. 2:9, demonstrate that ποιμαίνω in Rev. 19:15 has a destructive sense. Thus the Shepherd-King (12:5; 19:15) and

the overcomer (2:27) shall "shepherd" (destroy, not rule) the gentiles with an iron sceptre.

The contribution of Ps. 2:8 in Rev. 2:26 is a description of what (i.e. ἐξουσίαν ἐπὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν) has been given to the overcomer. The contribution of Ps. 2:9 in Rev. 2:27 is a description of how this ἐξουσία is to be used. In Rev. 12:5 the allusion describes the Son's judging and warring activity and thus serves as an identification of the υἱὸν ἄρσεν. In Rev. 19:15 the Son's judging and warring activity at his parousia is partially described by Ps. 2:9.

The hermeneutical stance of the allusion in each case is literal, i.e. the O.T. prophecy is treated as an unfulfilled prophecy. In terms of hermeneutical technique, there is the conflation of Ps. 2:9a and Jer. 19:11b in Rev. 2:27, the application of Ps. 2:8,9 in Rev. 2:26ff to a believer along the lines of corporate solidarity and the linking of Ps. 2:9 and Is. 11:4 on the basis of a common  $\overline{\text{L}}\overline{\text{L}}\overline{\text{W}}$ . The linking (not the wording) may have been taken over from tradition (cf. P.S. 17:26,27), but it is equally possible that John himself working with the H.T. linked Is. 11:4 with Ps. 2:9.

Besides the allusion to Ps. 2:9 in Rev. 2:27; 12:5; 19:15, it is possible that τὰ ἔθνη in Rev. 2:26; 11:18; 12:5; 19:15 goes back to Ps. 2:8. Rev. 2:28 ("as I myself have received power from my Father") reflects the thought of Ps. 2:7,8. Rev. 2:18 (ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ) appears to be taken from Ps. 2:7. Perhaps Ps. 2:5 is alluded to in Rev. 11:18 ("The nations raged, but thy wrath came"). In addition to these allusions to Ps. 2:7-9, John also makes use of Ps. 2:1,2. He employs the distinctive phrase "(our) Lord and his Christ" in Rev. 11:15, 12:10; but in contrast to Acts 3:18; 4:25ff, Ps. 2:2 in Rev. is associated with Christ's victory and parousia rather



than the rebellion against and the death of Christ at his first appearance. John also utilizes "kings of the earth" and "gathered" of Ps. 2:2 in Rev. 19:19 (cf. 16:14-16; 20:8). The kings of the earth (and the nations, cf. 20:8) are linked with (19:17ff) and identified as (20:8) Gog and Magog — this linking and identification may have been taken over from early Rabbinic tradition. Furthermore, these kings of the earth (and nations) are associated with (19:17ff) and manipulated by (16:14ff; 20:7,8) supra-human powers. This association of the Messiah's enemies of Ps. 2:1,2 with supra-human powers is found in pre-Christian Judaism (4QFlor) and is taken a step further in the Fathers where the enemies of "the Lord and his Christ" are themselves seen as supra-human powers.

The importance of Ps. 2 to the apocalyptic fabric of Rev. is evident in that it is used to describe the crucial events of the end-time, i.e. the "gathering together" for the final rebellion against "our Lord and his Christ" by the "kings of the earth" and "the nations" (Ps. 2:1,2) and Christ's victory over them (Ps. 2:8,9).

## Footnotes for Chapter V

1. For a survey of the literary structure and the interpretative framework see E. Fiorenza, "The Eschatology and Composition of the Apocalypse", C.B.Q. 30 (1968), 537-569.
2. See T. Holtz, Die Christologie der Apokalypse des Johannes (T.U. 85, Berlin, Akademie Verlag, 1962); J. Comblin, Le Christ dans l'Apocalypse (Paris, 1965 — not seen by the writer); U.B. Müller, Messias und Menschensohn in jüdischen Apokalypsen und in der Offenbarung des Johannes (St.N.T. 6, Gütersloh, Gerd Mohn, 1972).
3. A. Schlatter, Das Alte Testament in der johanneischen Apokalypse (B.F.Ch.Th. XVI, 6, Gütersloh, C. Bertelsmann, 1912); C.G. Ozanne, "The Influence of the Text and Language of the Old Testament on the Book of Revelation" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Manchester, 1964); L.P. Trudinger, "Some Observations Concerning the Text of the Old Testament in the Book of Revelation", J.Th.S. 17 (1966), 82-88; A. Lancellotti, "L'Antico Testamento nell' Apocalisse", Riv. Bib. 14 (1966), 369-384.
4. H.B. Swete, The Apocalypse of St. John (3rd ed., London, Macmillan, 1911), p. cxl.
5. W.G. Kümmel, who argues against John the son of Zebedee, posits a Jewish-Christian prophet by the name of John as the author. Introduction to the New Testament, trans. A.J. Mattill, Jr. (New York, Abingdon, 1966), pp. 329-331. On the other hand, D. Guthrie hesitatingly comes down in favour of John the son of Zebedee on the basis of the early traditions. New Testament Introduction (3rd ed., London, Tyndale, 1970), pp. 934-949, esp. p. 948.
6. For a bibliography of works on the Apocalypse see H. Kraft, Die Offenbarung des Johannes (H.N.T. 16a, Tübingen, J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1974), pp. 283-297.
7. The numbering followed here is that of the U.B.S. text. The AV RV RSV NEB number 28a as 27c.
8. Swete, p. 46; R.H. Charles, Revelation (I.C.C., 2 vols., Edinburgh, T. and T. Clark, 1920), I, 75.
9. Charles, I, 77.
10. Ozanne, p. 93.
11. Charles (I, 77) suggests that τὰ ἔθνη should be supplied as the subject of συντρίβεται; but if this were the author's intention, why did he shift from future (ποιμανεῖ) to present (συντρίβεται) and from active to passive?
12. The passive συντρίβεται of Rev. 2:27b points towards dependence upon συντρίβεται of Jer. 19:11 (cf. Qal 777), but ἄγγος ὀστράκινον though agreeing with τὰ σκεύη τὰ κεραμικά (earthen vessels) in sense (unless κεραμικά is an itacism and thus goes back to κεράμευκος (v.1.) which means "of a potter",

## 12. (Contd.)

- see Moulton, II, 379, but cf. Bl.-D., p. 62) differs from it in wording and number (cf. 735 which could be a m. pl. construct). Thus it is difficult to determine whether the allusion to Jer. 19:11 goes back to the M.T. or the LXX.
13. W. Bousset, Die Offenbarung Johannes (K.E.K., 5th ed., Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1896), p. 258.
  14. Swete, pp. clv and 46.
  15. E. Lohmeyer, Die Offenbarung des Johannes (H.N.T. 16, Tübingen, J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1926), p. 27.
  16. J. Jeremias, "ποιμήν κτλ", T.D.N.T. VI, 488.
  17. Trudinger, p. 85.
  18. Swete, p. clv.
  19. Charles, I, lxvi ff.
  20. A. Lancellotti, "L'Antico Testamento nell' Apocalisse", pp. 369-384. See also his Sintassi ebraica nel greco dell' Apocalisse (Collectio Assisiensis 1, Assisi, 1964).
  21. G.B. Caird, A Commentary on the Revelation of St. John the Divine (London: A. and C. Black, 1966), p. 45.
  22. Ozanne, pp. 191ff.
  23. Bousset, p. 258.
  24. Jeremias, VI, 488.
  25. Charles, I, 75, 76.
  26. Lohmeyer, p. 27.
  27. Pointing to the parallel between ποιμανεῖ and πατάξῃ in 19:15 and ποιμανεῖ and συντρίβεται in 2:27 (this latter case is not strictly a parallel, but this does not lessen the force of the example), Charles states that the author of the Apocalypse definitely knew the second meaning of ποιμαίνω. I, 76.
  28. So H. Alford, The Greek Testament (2nd ed., 4 vols., London, Rivingtons, 1862), IV, 578; I.T. Beckwith, The Apocalypse of John (New York: Macmillan, 1919), p. 314; Lohmeyer, p. 27; A. Wikenhauser, Die Offenbarung des Johannes (R.N.T. 9, Regensburg, Pustet, 1959), p. 44; P.S. Minear, I Saw a New Earth: An Introduction to the Visions of the Apocalypse (Washington, D.C. : Corpus Books, 1968), p. 38. N. Turner takes the opposite view. "Revelation", Peake's Commentary on the Bible, ed. M. Black and H.H. Rowley (London: Nelson and Sons, 1962), p. 1048.
  29. Bauer, p. 277.

30. Outside the Apocalypse the construction is found in Lk. 5:24 and I Cor. 11:10.
31. cf. Acts 4:25ff where Ps. 2:1,2 perhaps is applied to the Christian community along corporate solidarity lines. See ch. III.
32. Lohmeyer, pp. 27,28. That the  $\tau\omega\nu \epsilon\theta\nu\omega\nu$  of vs. 26 refers to unbelievers is made clear from the way in which the overcomer is to deal with them (vs. 27). For  $\tau\alpha \epsilon\theta\nu\eta$  in Rev. as unbelievers see 11:2,18; 18:3.
33. The R.S.V.'s translation of  $\rho\omicron\iota\mu\alpha\nu\epsilon\iota$  as "he shall rule" is misleading.
34. As has often been pointed out "the Lamb in the midst of the throne will be their shepherd" is a "bold mixture of two metaphors." Swete, p. 105.
35. Ozanne, pp. 6,7.
36. This is also the sense of  $\text{לְרֹשֵׁתָּם בְּרֶגֶל$  in Ps. 2:9. See ch. I.
37. For the O.T. Traditionsgeschichte of the Davidic Shepherd-King see ch. I and J.G.S.S. Thomson, "The Shepherd-Ruler Concept in the O.T. and Its Application in the N.T.", S.J.Th. 8 (1955), 406-418.
38. J. Moffatt states that the gentiles "are not governed but shivered in irreparable ruin." "Revelation", Expositor's Greek Testament ed. W.R. Nicoll, (5 vols., London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1910), V, 363. So too Beckwith, p. 471; Caird on the meaning but not ultimate sense. p. 46.
39. Swete comments that, "The Gentile nations are to be shattered like pottery by the Divine Shepherd of Israel." p. 47.
40. Swete, p. 47; Charles, I, 77.
41. Moffatt, V, 363; G.E. Ladd, A Commentary on the Revelation of John (Grand Rapids, Mich. : Eerdmans, 1972), p. 54.
42. Lohmeyer, p. 28; Kraft, p. 72.
43. A. Farrer, The Revelation of St. John the Divine (Oxford: University Press, 1964), p. 76; G.R. Beasley-Murray, The Book of Revelation (London : Oliphants, 1974), p. 93.
44. Lohmeyer, p. 28.
45. cf. Beasley-Murray, p. 343.
46. J. Daniélou, Primitive Christian Symbols, trans. D. Attwater (Baltimore: Helicon, 1964), p. 109. Many commentators do see Num. 24:17 behind Rev. 22:16. See Moffatt, V, 363; Caird, p. 286; Beasley-Murray, p. 343; Ladd, p. 294.
47. Ozanne, p. 197.

48. Alford, IV, 577; Lohmeyer, p. 27; Kraft, pp. 71,72; Wikenhauser, pp. 43,44; Swete (p. 48) and Charles (I, 75) see a complete fulfillment at the parousia.
49. Swete, p. 48; Charles, I,75.
50. Caird sees the complete fulfillment of this promise in the present age. He argues that since it would be out of place to smash the nations in the heavenly city and since before the millennium the enemies of God have been finally overcome, "we are compelled therefore to look for the fulfillment of this promise within the present order." Furthermore, "the Christian becomes a Conqueror in this world only in the moment of his leaving it." Thus the fulfillment must be the actual death of the martyrs. p. 46. This explanation, however, overlooks 1) the possibility of the return of Christ before the overcomer dies (vs. 25) and 2) the fact that all of the enemies of God are not destroyed before the millennium (20:7ff).
51. The Apocalypse does not explicitly state when the overcomer will "shepherd" the gentiles, and in Rev. 19:15 the overcomers apparently do not participate in the "shepherding". The armies of Rev. 19:14 are not necessarily the overcomers, and they are not said to participate in the "shepherding". The answer to this problem no doubt lies in the nature of the Apocalypse itself.
52. Ladd, pp. 53,54.
53. Origen links together Ps. 2:9, I Cor. 4:21, Ps. 88(89):32 and Is. 11:1. Since Ps. 2:9 and Ps. 88(89):32 are linked here, it is probable that "ferrus" in the "iron rod" of Ps. 88(89):32 in Homily on Exodus VIII, 6 (G.C.S. VI, 237) is due to the influence of Ps. 2:9.
54. Swete, p. 47; for a very similar statement see Charles, I,75.
55. Holtz (pp. 20-22) and Kraft (p. 69) are very definite in their assertion of an allusion to Ps. 2:7. Others believe that this is probably correct: Bousset, p. 253; Beckwith, p. 465; Charles, I, 68; Caird, p. 43; E. Schweizer, " ὁ ἰσχυρὸς ", T.D.N.T. VIII, 389; Beasley-Murray, p. 90.
56. Following Ladd's outline. pp.15,16.
57. Apparently the seventh trumpet equals the seven bowls just as the seventh seal equals the seven trumpets. See Ladd, p. 122.
58. See Beasley-Murray, p. 191; Ladd, p. 166.
59. P. Prigent, Apocalypse 12 : Histoire de l'exégèse (B.G.B.E. 2, Tübingen, J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1959).
60. W.K. Hedrick, "The Sources and Use of the Imagery of Apocalypse 12" (Unpublished Th.D. dissertation, Graduate Theological Union, 1971).



61. H. Gollinger, Das "grosse Zeichen" von Apokalypse 12 (S.B.M. 11, Würzburg, Echter, 1971).
62. Gollinger, pp. 25-73.
63. Taking ἄρσεν as substantial and in apposition to υἱόν. So Bl.-D., p. 76. P<sup>47</sup> and X have ἄρρενα which agrees with the gender of υἱόν.
64. Alford, IV, 688; Bousset, p. 396; Swete, p. 151; Charles, I, 320; Beckwith, p. 617; M. Kiddle, The Revelation of St. John (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1940), p. 222; Moffatt, V, 425; Caird, p. 149; Holtz, p. 98; Wikenhauser, p. 94; Kraft, p. 166. But Gollinger believes that, "Eine sorgfältige Prüfung der Argumente für und gegen die Deutung auf die irdisch-historische Geburt Jesu oder auf das Hervortreten des Messias aus bzw. sein Erscheinen mit der endzeitlichen himmlischen Heilsgemeinde führt jedoch zu dem Ergebnis, dass eine Deutung, die das Kind von Offb 12, 5 als Symbol nicht für die Person des Messias, sondern für den Anbruch der Endzeit versteht, zumindest erwägenswert, wenn nicht gar vorzuziehen ist." p. 166 His proof for this position is less than convincing. 1) He states that "in [Rev.] 19:15 ist dieser Vers auf den zum Gericht erscheinenden Reiter auf dem weissen Ross bezogen; in 2:26f ... wird dem Sieger verheissen, dass er 'sie (= die Völker) mit eisernem Stab weiden wird'." But then he draws the unwarranted conclusion that, "Ps. 2:9 kann also nicht nur auf den Messias selbst, sondern auch auf die mit dem Messias erscheinenden Gerechten bezogen werden." pp. 97,98 2) Although he tries to play it down (p. 166, n. 72), he concedes that Ps. 2:9 was messianically interpreted in pre-Christian Judaism. pp. 97-99. 3) He notes that in contrast to all of John's Vorlagen the woman in Rev. actually gives birth to the child. Although he has shown that the birth motif probably symbolises the "Anbrechen der Endzeit" (p. 166), he has not shown that the child is something other than a person. Even A. Vögtle, who supervised Gollinger's dissertation, disagrees with him on this issue. "Mythos und Botschaft in Apokalypse 12", Tradition und Glaube : Das frühe Christentum in seiner Umwelt : Festgabe für K.G. Kuhn zum 65. Geburtstag, ed. G. Jeremias, H.-W. Kuhn and H. Stegemann (Göttingen : Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1971), pp. 395-415.
65. Hedrick, p. 180. Is not the escape into the desert an action that has Jewish precedence?
66. Hedrick, p. 181, cf. pp. 102ff.
67. Charles, I, 303; Wikenhauser, p. 94; Holtz, p. 99; Gollinger, p. 97.
68. Jer. 20:15 and Tobit 6:12 have no point of contact with Rev. 12 except "a son, a male child".
69. Translation of IQH 3 from G. Vermes, The Dead Sea Scrolls in English (rev. ed. Baltimore, Penguin, 1968), p. 157. For a list of the literature on IQH 3 up to 1966 and a discussion of the relation of IQH 3 to Rev. 12 see H. Braun, Qumran und das Neue Testament (2 vols., Tübingen, J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1966), I, 313-318.

70. M. Black, The Scrolls and Christian Origins (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1961), p. 150.
71. Black, p. 149.
72. M. Rese refers to II Sam. 7:12f, 16; I Chr. 22:9f and Is. 9:6, but he states that it is difficult to find a definite allusion to any text. Alttestamentliche Motive in der Christologie des Lukas (St.N.T. 1, Gütersloh, Gütersloher Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn, 1969), p. 185. C.H. Dodd states that "Lk. 1:32,33 echoes Is. 9:7." According to the Scripture (London: Nisbet, 1952), p. 81.
73. Dodd notes that Is. 9:1,2 is cited in Mt. 4:15,16. cf. Lk. 1:79. p. 81.
- 73a. B. Lindars, New Testament Apologetics (London: S.C.M., 1961), p. 143.
74. It is of interest that in the only place in Rev. where a believer is called a "son" (ἐσθαι αὐτῷ Θεὸς καὶ αὐτὸς ἔσται μοι υἱός, 21:7) the language is drawn from the Davidic promise tradition (II Sam. 7:14) of which Ps. 2:7 is a part.
75. Ladd, p. 166; cf. Swete, p. 150; Charles, I, 298; Kiddle, pp. 211-213; Beasley-Murray, p. 191.
76. Gollinger, p. 99.
77. cf. Rev. 2:26; 11:18; 19:15.
78. For hermeneutical stance see notes on Rev. 2:27.
79. In contrast to Acts 2:36 which is not an allusion to Ps. 2:2. See ch. III, n. 1.
80. See ch. II, n. 137.
81. So Bousset, p. 387; Swete, p. 142; Beckwith, p. 609; Charles I, 293; Lohmeyer, p. 92; Ozanne, p. 115; Kraft, p. 161.
82. Swete, p. 155; Charles, I, 294, 326.
83. Ozanne, p. 116.
84. So Swete, p. 143; Kiddle, p. 209; Farrer, p. 137; Kraft, p. 163. This is the only allusion to Ps. 2:5 in the N.T.
85. M. Rissi states that, "Present-day interpretation of the Revelation of John is on the whole in agreement that Rev. 19:11-16 describes the return of Jesus Christ." The Future of the World: An Exegetical Study of Revelation 19:11 - 22:15 (S.B.T., 2nd series 23, London, S.C.M., 1972), p. 18.
86. Ladd, pp. 16, 17.
87. The allusion to Is. 49:2 could have been taken from either the M.T. or LXX.

88. That the "smiting" goes back to Is. 11:4 is strengthened by the observation that *καὶ ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ κρίνει* of Rev. 19:11b goes back to Is. 11:4 *דַּרְשׁוֹתָי וְשִׁמְשׁוֹתָי* cf. *ἀλλὰ κρίνει τὰ πνεύματα κρίσιν*. Although the *πατάξῃ* (Is. 11:4) in Rev. 19:15 could go back to either the M.T. (*נָסַף*) or the LXX (*πατάξει*), the fact that the allusion to Is. 11:4 in Rev. 19:11 goes back to the M.T. suggests that *πατάξῃ* was derived from the M.T.
89. For the use of Is. 11:4 in Jewish literature see P.S. 17:27, 39; IQSb 5:4; I Enoch 62:2; IV Ezra 13:10 (cf. II Thess. 2:8). For the idea of a sword that does the slaying see Wisdom of Solomon 18:15ff (cf. Heb. 4:12).
90. cf. Rev. 14:19,20.
91. So P. Grelot "L'exégèse messianique d'Isaïe, LXIII, 1-6", R.B. 70 (1963), 371-380. It is clear that the allusion is derived from the M.T. On the possible relation of Rev. 19:15 to a Targum on Gen. 49:11 see Schlatter, p. 47; Charles, II, 134; Moffatt, V, 467; Ozanne, p. 186; Holtz, p. 180, n. 1; M. McNamara, The New Testament and the Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch (An.Bib. 27, Rome, Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1960), pp. 230-233.
92. The shift from the future tense (*ποιμανεῖ*) to the present tense (*πατεῖ*) has been explained 1) as an agreement of sound between the two verbs (Lohmeyer, p. 156), 2) as a desire to show that *ποιμανεῖ* means "ruling" and thus the ruling of Christ over the gentiles rather than their destruction would be in view (Holtz, p. 179, n. 5, but he admits that it is difficult to make this assumption) and 3) as an attempt to emphasize the particular function of the future Messiah (U.B. Müller, p. 207, but he has failed to note that *πατάξῃ* (Aor. Subj.) has a future tense value). G. Mussies has shown that within the account of a vision it is common for John to shift from one tense to another. This may account for the shift from future to present in Rev. 19:15. The Morphology of Koine Greek (Supp. to Nov. T. 27, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1971), pp. 334ff. It is possible, however, that Lancellotti's explanation (which Mussies rejects) that Greek verb tenses are to be evaluated in light of the underlying Heb. verb tenses should be given further consideration. See Sintassi ebraica nel greco dell'Apocalisse.
93. For a different view see Caird, pp. 239ff. For a spiritualizing of the text see Swete, p. 254. Swete's view has been effectively countered by Beasley-Murray, p. 284.
94. Ozanne, p. 140.
95. Besides P.S. 17:26,27, Ps. 2:9 and Is. 11:4 are not specifically linked elsewhere in Jewish or early Christian literature, but Ps. 2 and Is. 11 are linked in I Enoch 48:8 - 49:3 (Ps. 2:2 - Is. 11:2), IV Ezra 13:10,11,32ff (Ps. 2:7 - Is. 11:4), Midr. Ps. 2 & 3 (Ps. 2:1 - Is. 11:4) (see ch. II for details of the preceding references), Sibylline Oracles VIII, 243-254, G.C.S. p. 157 (Ps. 2:9 - Is. 11:1), Clement of Alexandria, Paed. I, 7, G.C.S. I, 126 (Ps. 2:9 - Is. 11:1) and Origen, Selecta in Psalmos on Ps. 2, P.G. XII, 1108 (Ps. 2:9 - Is. 11:1).

96. One might conjecture that John used the Hebrew text of P.S., but  $\omega\varsigma \sigma\kappa\epsilon\upsilon\eta \kappa\epsilon\rho\alpha\mu\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$  at the beginning of the clause indicates that Ps. 2:9a and b are both used. Thus  $\sigma\upsilon\nu\tau\rho\acute{\iota}\psi\alpha\iota$  could go back to  $\square\zeta\eta\eta\eta$  ( $\sigma\upsilon\nu\tau\rho\acute{\iota}\psi\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ ) of Ps. 2:9b rather than  $\square\psi\eta\eta$  ( $\pi\omicron\iota\mu\alpha\upsilon\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ ) of Ps. 2:9a. Therefore, the Hebrew text of P.S. does not, without further discussion, provide a source for the  $\pi\omicron\iota\mu\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$  of Rev. 19:15.
97. A. Vanhoye, "L'utilisation du livre d'Ezechiel dans l'Apocalypse", Bib. 43 (1962), 436-476, esp. 453, 454.
98. See also Rev. 1:5 (derived from Ps. 89:28), 6:15; 17:2, 18; 18:3, 9; 21:24; cf. 16:14 (see below). It will be shown below that there are grounds for assuming that the "kings of the earth" of Rev. 19:19 goes back to Ps. 2:2. Thus it is possible that the other occurrences of this phrase (except 1:5) go back to Ps. 2:2. On the other hand, John knows at least one other source of the phrase (Ps. 89:28); and the phrase was common in the O.T. (I Kings 10:23; II Chr. 9:22; Ps. 76:12; 102:15; 138:4; 148:11; Lam. 4:12; Eze. 27:33). Therefore, without evidence from the immediate context, it is not possible to affirm a definite allusion to Ps. 2:2 in any of these references. The phrase is used twice outside of the Apocalypse: Acts 4:26 (a quotation of Ps. 2:1, 2) and Mt. 17:25.
99. Ozanne believes that  $\sigma\upsilon\nu\eta\chi\theta\eta\sigma\alpha\nu$  of Ps. 2:2 LXX is a misreading of  $\eta\eta\eta\eta$  for  $\eta\eta\theta\eta$ . p. 187. If so, the same mistake is made in Ps. 31(30):14. But the real problem is determining the root of  $\eta\eta\theta\eta$ ,  $\eta\theta$  or  $\eta\theta$ . On this point see ch. I.
100. Ozanne believes that this is an allusion to Ps. 48(47):5  $\eta\eta\eta\eta \square\zeta\eta\eta\eta \pi\eta\eta \eta\theta$ ,  $\acute{\omicron}\tau\iota \acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\upsilon \acute{\omicron}\acute{\iota}$   $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$  ( $\tau\eta\varsigma \gamma\eta\varsigma$  Luc A)  $\sigma\upsilon\nu\eta\chi\theta\eta\sigma\alpha\nu$ . p. 187. But the H.T., which Ozanne argues is the author's usual text, lacks "of the earth"; and the LXX<sup>A</sup> according to A. Rahlfs derives  $\tau\eta\varsigma \gamma\eta\varsigma$  from Ps. 2:2. Septuaginta Societatis Scientiarum Gottingensis, X, 157.
101. Commenting on Rev. 19:17-21, Swete states that, "In ch. 16 the forces are seen gathering for battle, but the battle is not yet begun; and there seems to be no reason why we should not find its consummation here." p. 256. Beckwith, p. 734; Beasley-Murray, p. 283.
102. See  $\acute{\epsilon}\theta\upsilon\eta$  in Rev. 2:26, 12:5; 11:18; 19:15 all of which probably allude to Ps. 2:2.
103. See ch. II, Section IV, E.
104. See ch. III, n. 160.

## CONCLUSIONS



Detailed summaries and conclusions have been presented at the close of chapters II-V. Thus this section will draw together some of the more important results of this inquiry.

1. One of the problems that confronts every student of the use of the O.T. in the N.T. is the matter of criteria for the determination of an allusion to the O.T. In this study it has been required that there should be something distinctive in the wording or thought that points to Ps. 2 in order to establish an allusion. This regulation has been somewhat relaxed if there is a clear quotation of Ps. 2 in the immediate context (e.g. in the light of the full citation of Ps. 2:7 in Heb. 1:5 the "son" of Heb. 1:2 probably reflects the influence of Ps. 2:7, cf. Rev. 2:18,26f) and/or contextual factors pointing to Ps. 2 (e.g. "whom he appointed the heir of all things" in Heb. 1:2 reflects the thought of Ps. 2:8). The two most important supposed allusions to Ps. 2 that have been discussed in this study are Mk. 1:11 (baptism voice and parallels including the transfiguration voice and II Peter 1:17) and Rom. 1:4. Both are alleged to allude to vs. 7, but in neither case is there anything distinctive in the wording or thought that points clearly to Ps. 2:7 (the so-called "Western" text of Lk. 3:22 which gives a full citation of Ps. 2:7 is not the original reading). The baptism voice probably is to be accounted for in terms of Gen. 22:2 and Is. 42:1 while Rom. 1:4 probably draws upon II Sam. 7:12-14. Thus these texts do not afford evidence that Ps. 2:7 is connected with the baptism (Mk. 1:11) or the resurrection (Rom. 1:4) of Jesus.

2. Another negative result related to the point just stated is that Ps. 2:7 in Acts 13:33 is probably associated with the appearance of Jesus as the davidic Messiah and not his resurrection. Furthermore, in Heb. 1:5; 5:5, Ps. 2:7 is not connected to Christ's exaltation. Thus, Ps. 2:7 is not employed in the N.T. in connection with any specific

event in the life of Christ, i.e. baptism, resurrection or exaltation. This calls in question those christological schemata which assert that in the earliest theological stratum where Ps. 2:7 is used, it is associated with an event at the end of Jesus' earthly life and then in later theological strata it was projected back upon earlier aspects of Jesus' life,<sup>1</sup> e.g. parousia → exaltation → baptism,<sup>2</sup> resurrection → transfiguration → baptism,<sup>3</sup> resurrection → baptism → transfiguration → generation of the son,<sup>4</sup> resurrection → earthly life of Christ → pre-existence.<sup>5</sup> The development of the use of Ps. 2:7 in the N.T. era appears to be that at first (Acts 13:33) it was utilized in connection with the kerygma proclaimed to the Jews in order to demonstrate that Jesus fulfilled O.T. and perhaps current Jewish expectations of a davidic Messiah. Later (Heb. 1:5; 5:5) the emphasis is upon the status of Jesus, i.e. he is the Son of God. Thus there is a development from functional to ontological christology.

3. Besides the Traditionsgeschichte of Ps. 2:7 within the N.T., there is also a development in the use of Ps. 2:1,2 within the N.T. The references to Ps. 2:1,2 in Acts 4:25ff (cf. 3:18), Mt. 22:34 (cf. 26:3,57; 27:62) and Rev. 11:15; 12:10; 19:19 (cf. 16:14,16; 20:8) agree in depicting enemies rebelling against Christ, but they differ at several crucial points. In Acts and Mt. the enemies are only human (e.g. Herod and Pilate), but in Rev. the enemies are associated with supra-human beings (e.g. Satan). Acts and Mt. apply Ps. 2:1,2 to the first coming of Christ; Rev. unites it with his parousia. In Acts and Mt. the enemies "defeat" Christ, i.e. they rebel against him (Mt. 22:34; Acts 4:25ff) and kill him (Acts 3:18); but in Rev. Christ utterly destroys the enemies (Rev. 19:11-21). In the indirect application of Ps. 2:1,2 to the Christian community in Acts 4 and in Mt. 22:34 there is no trace of the destroy-the-gentiles motif (cf. P.S. 17), but in Rev.

this motif is clearly evident (Rev. 19:11-21).

4. A comparison and contrast of the Traditionsgeschichte of Ps. 2 within the N.T. with the Traditionsgeschichte of Ps. 2 in pre-Christian Judaism is informative. On the one hand, the N.T.'s use of Ps. 2 is in agreement with the pre-Christian Jewish use of Ps. 2 and perhaps has taken over certain elements from this Jewish tradition. Note the following parallels: a) the destroy-the-gentiles motif associated with Ps. 2 in P.S. 17 (cf. 4QFlor), Rev. 19:11-21; b) the pesher hermeneutical stance in 4QFlor, Acts 3:18,4:25ff; c) the corporate understanding of "his Anointed" in 4QFlor, Acts 4:28ff (indirect application of "his Anointed" to Christian community); d) the messianic interpretation of "his Anointed" in P.S. 18:6 (cf. I Enoch 48:10, Rabbinic literature), Acts 3:18,4:27, Rev. 11:15,12:10; e) the enemies of Ps. 2:1,2 are associated (1) with supra-natural enemies in 4QFlor (Rabbinic literature), Rev. 19:17-21 (cf. 16:14-16; 20:7,8, Church Fathers) and (2) with Gog and Magog in first century A.D. Rabbinic tradition (Berakoth 7b, Tanch. ¶¶ 14b), Rev. 19,20; f) if Ps. 2:7 was not messianically interpreted in pre-Christian Judaism — it is all but proven that it was so understood, it was only a short step to the messianic (christological) interpretation of it in Acts 13:33, Heb. 1:5; 5:5 (cf. Heb. 1:2; 7:28; Rev. 2:18); g) Ps. 2:7 is part of the davidic covenant in its O.T. context, Sirach 47:11 (4QP Bless ?) and a restatement of the davidic promise in Acts 13:32,33; h) Rev. 2:9 is coupled with the victory of the Messiah over his enemies in P.S. 17, Rev. 19:11-21; i) Ps. 2:9 is associated with Is. 11:4 in P.S. 17 (IV Ezra 13; I Enoch 48,49; Gen. R. 97; Midr. Ps. 2 & 3), Rev. 19:15; j) Ps. 2 and II Sam. 7 are linked in 4QFlor (II Sam. 7:10-14; Ps. 2:1,2), P.S. 17 (II Sam. 7:12; Ps. 2:9), Sirach 47:11 (II Sam. 7:12; Ps. 2:7), 4QP Bless ? (II Sam. 7:12; Ps. 2:7), Acts 13:23,32f (II Sam. 7:12ff as

haftarah; Ps. 2:7) and Heb. 1:5 (Ps. 2:7; II Sam. 7:14). On the other hand, the N.T. Traditionsgeschichte of Ps. 2 at certain points differs from the pre-Christian Jewish Traditionsgeschichte of Ps. 2. This can be illustrated by the following. a) Ps. 2 is linked to a destroy-the-gentiles motif in P.S. 17 (cf. 4QFlor, IV Ezra 13, Rabbinic literature), but in the indirect application of Ps. 2:1,2 to the Christian community (Acts 4:28ff) in the midst of persecution by their enemies this motif is absent. b) In P.S. 17 the Messiah (God in 4QFlor) defeats the enemies, but in Acts "his Messiah" is revolted against (4:25ff) and killed (3:18). c) In 4QFlor (Rabbinic literature, Rev. 19,20, Church Fathers) the enemies of "his Messiah" are associated with supra-humans, but the enemies of "his Messiah" in Acts 4:27 are only human. d) The iron sceptre of Ps. 2:9 is held by the Messiah in P.S. 17, but in Rev. 2:26,27 the iron sceptre is given to the overcomer. e) In Acts "his Messiah" of Ps. 2:2 is interpreted in terms of (4:27) or coupled with (3:18) the servant of the Songs of Isaiah, but this is not found in pre-Christian Judaism. f) In Hebrews Ps. 2:7 is combined with the often cited Ps. 110:1 (1:5,13) and with Ps. 110:4 (5:5,6; cf. 7:28), but there is no evidence of such a tradition in pre-Christian Judaism. Therefore, the employment of Ps. 2 in the N.T. both follows old paths of exegesis and blazes new trails of interpretation. Most of the new trails are a result of Christo-centric exegesis.

5. Many of the traditions of exegesis found in the N.T. reappear in the early Church Fathers, but at three points there are a noteworthy divergences. First, from a very early period Ps. 2:7 was associated with the baptism of Jesus (Gospel of the Ebionites, Justin Martyr). Secondly, Ps. 2:8, which is alluded to in Rev. 2:26 where the gentiles are to be "shepherded" with an iron sceptre by the overcomer (cf. Heb. 1:2), becomes in the Fathers a proof-text related to the salvation of

the gentiles (Justin Martyr, Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian). Thirdly, many of the Fathers interpret Ps. 2:9 in terms of disciplining Christians rather than the destruction of the gentiles (Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Adamantius, cf. P.S. 18:8; Midr. Ps. 120 & 7).

6. In the N.T. Ps. 2 functions as a prophecy in a prophecy-fulfillment schema (Acts 4:25ff; cf. 3:18) which evinces God's sovereignty, as a promise in a promise-fulfillment schema (Acts 13:32,33) where the Ps. 2:7 quotation is a midrashic restatement of the haftarah/promise (II Sam. 7:12ff) of the homily, as a Schriftbeweis in Heb. 1:5, where Ps. 2:7 attests Jesus' sonship and thus his superiority to the angels and in Heb. 5:5 where Ps. 2:7 attests Jesus' eternal sonship and thus his superiority to the Aaronic priests. The hermeneutical stance of Acts 3:18, 4:25ff, 13:33, Mt. 22:34 is *peshar* and the stance in Rev. 2:26,27; 12:5; 19:15 is literal.

7. How important was Ps. 2 to the church of the first century? Numerically, Ps. 2 is employed fewer times than Ps. 110<sup>6</sup> or the stone testimonia,<sup>7</sup> but its importance is attested by the following observations. a) Almost every major N.T. writer or figure except Jesus made use of Ps. 2: Peter (Acts 3:18), the early Christian community — probably lead by Peter (Acts 4:25ff), Paul (Acts 13:33), the author of Matthew (22:34), the author of Hebrews (1:2,5; 5:5; 7:28), the author of Revelation (2:18,26,27; 11:15,18; 12:5,10; 19:15,19) and perhaps Luke (Acts 4:5, cf. 3:18; 4:25ff; 13:33). b) The detailed "exegesis" of Ps. 2:1,2 in Acts 4:25ff with a view to proving its fulfillment in the Christ event indicates that the primitive church had given much consideration to this testimonium. c) In Hebrews a correct view of the person of Christ is fundamental to the argument. The basic expression of this christology is in terms of sonship. The introduction declares that God has spoken in one who is Son (1:2), the focus of the confession is "Jesus the Son of God" (4:14), Jesus is repeatedly called Son or Son



of God (1:2,5,8; 3:6; 4:14, 5:5,8; 6:6; 7:3,28; 10:29) and the argument of Christ's superiority to the representatives of the old covenant is predicated upon the basis of his sonship: the Son is superior to angels (1:4-2:18), the Son is superior to Moses (3:1-4:13), the Son as high priest is superior to the Aaronic high priests (4:14-7:18). The key text that the author employs to witness to Christ's sonship is Ps. 2:7. Thus Ps. 2:7 is the most important, though not the most frequently cited, testimonium in Hebrews. d) The importance of Ps. 2 to the apocalyptic fabric of Revelation is evident in that it is used to describe the crucial events of the end-time, i.e. the "gathering together" (16:14,16; 19:19; 20:8) for the final rebellion against "our Lord and his Christ" (11:15; 12:10) by the "kings of the earth" (19:19) and "the nations" (2:26; 11:18; 12:5; 19:15), which is depicted in terms from Ps. 2:1,2,8, and the victory of Christ (12:5; 19:15) and his overcomers (2:26,27) over the enemies, which is portrayed in language stemming from Ps. 2:8,9.

## Footnotes to Conclusions

1. For criticism of these schemata see M. Rese, Alttestamentliche Motive in der Christologie des Lukas (St.N.T. 1, Gütersloh, Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1969), p. 92; R.H. Gundry, The Use of the Old Testament in St. Matthew's Gospel (Supp. to Nov. T. 18, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1967), p. 161, n. 3; M.D. Goulder, Midrash and Lection in Matthew (London: S.P.C.K., 1974), pp. 132ff.
2. R.H. Fuller, The Foundations of New Testament Christology (London: Lutterworth, 1965), pp. 167ff.
3. B. Lindars, New Testament Apologetic (London: S.C.M., 1961), pp. 139-144.
4. H. Montefiore, A Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews (London: A. and C. Black, 1964), p. 44.
5. R.G. Hammerton-Kelly, Pre-Existence, Wisdom and the Son of Man: A Study of the Idea of Pre-Existence in the New Testament (M.S.S.N.T.S. 21, Cambridge, University Press, 1973), p. 245.
6. D.M. Hay, Glory at the Right Hand: Psalm 110 in Early Christianity (Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series 18, New York, Abingdon, 1973).
7. K.R. Snodgrass, The Christological Stone Testimonia in the New Testament (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of St. Andrews, 1973).

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